Section 9 - Jesuitica

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Woodstock Letters

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DAVID KNIGHT

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OBITUARY — BOOK REVIEWS

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Jesuits Enter the Philippine Islands

W. C. Repetti, S.J.

The Philippine archipelago, lying about 550 miles from the southeastern Asiatic coast, is comprised between the latitudes 4° 40′ and 20° 40′ north and longitudes 116° and 127° east. It is bounded on the east by the Pacific Ocean, on the west by the South China Sea, on the north by the Bashi Channel and on the south by the Celebes Sea. The northernmost island of the Batan group is only sixty-two miles from the nearest island off the coast of Formosa, and Balut Island, south of Mindanao, is only forty-three miles from the nearest Dutch island. The islands of the archipelago number 7,083, but only 463 have an area of more than one square mile, and only 11 have an area of more than 1,000 square miles. Luzon, the largest, has an area of 40,814 square miles, and Mindanao, the second in size, 36,806 square miles. For the most part, the islands are mountainous or hilly, Mt. Apo having the maximum altitude, 9,960 feet. The bulk of the population lives on the coastal plains and in the low-lying valleys. The climate is tropical, but the temperature moderates with altitude until, at elevations of four thousand feet or more, one finds temperate zone conditions.

The people at the present time, prescinding from ethnological differences, fall into three main classes; the Christians, mostly low-landers; the non-Christian tribes, mostly pagan mountain folk; and the Moros, in the southern parts of the archipelago. This classification suffices for our history. The last group professes Mohammedanism which entered the archipelago by way of Borneo, and by the close of the fifteenth century it had passed northward through Palawan, western Mindoro and into southwest Luzon as far as Manila Bay. Another wave passed up through the Sulu archipelago to southwest Mindanao and into the present provinces of Lanao and Cotabato. The Spaniards introduced Christianity and pushed Mohammedanism back as far as the south end of Palawan and stopped its progress in Mindanao.

The Philippine Islands first came to the knowledge of Europeans with the arrival of Magellan's expedition, seeking a

western route to the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, which would not infringe on Portuguese rights. He discovered the Philippines on March 6, 1521, and was killed on the island of Mactan, near Cebu, April 27, 1521. Only one vessel, the *Victoria*, got to Spain with the electrifying news that the globe had been encircled.

The Spaniards assumed that the Spice Islands were on their side of the Line of Demarcation and, during the next quarter of a century, six expeditions were projected or set out for the Indies. Following the route of Magellan three of them actually reached the Philippines, but were then forced by weather or food shortages to throw themselves into the hands of the Portuguese in the Moluccas. One was commanded by García Jofre de Loaysa, a Commander of the Order of St. John, another by Alvaro de Cerón Saavedra, sailing from Mexico. The third sailed from Spain under the leadership of Ruy López de Villalobos and, in 1543, he gave the name Filipinas to the archipelago in honor of the crown prince, the future Philip II.

After a lapse of twenty years, the first permanent European settlement in the Philippines was effected at Cebu in 1565 by the Adelantado Miguel López de Legazpi. Among the instructions given to him was an injunction to get in touch with the Jesuits who were laboring in the Portuguese trading centers of the Far East. He was to ascertain where they were engaged in the conversion of natives, give any needed assistance, inquire into their methods of evangelization, the number of people, cities and provinces converted, and learn everything possible. Moreover, he was to see that the religious who accompanied him contacted the Jesuits in neighboring lands and learned all the details of their work, methods, interpreters and languages. He was, also, to send back a minute and clear report of everything.

Conditions in Cebu proved unsatisfactory. There was a scarcity of food and the Portuguese in Molucca were a constant threat to the tenure of the Spaniards, as was made evident in 1568 when Gonzalo Pereira appeared at Cebu with two galleons and endeavored to intimidate Legazpi. Consequently, the bulk of the party was moved to the island of Panay in 1569, leaving Cebu in the hands of a small garrison. After a reconnaissance by Martín de Goiti, master-of-camp, in 1570, the

Spanish force with its Visayan allies moved north in 1571 and took Manila, then an important Tagalog town.

Manila Bay is, roughly, a quadrilateral. It is some thirty by twenty-five miles in size. Manila is situated near the south end of the east side, and the entrance of the bay, divided into two channels by Corregidor Island (formerly known as Mariveles), is at the south end of the west side.

On June 24, 1571, Manila was formally organized as a Spanish city. The earliest mention of the Jesuits in connection with the Philippines is probably that made by Legazpi in his letter of June 2, 1572, to the king in which he requests that Jesuits be sent to the islands.

Legazpi died on August 20, 1572 and was buried in the church of the Augustinians. He was succeeded by Guido de Lavezaris (1572-1575). Writing to the king on June 29, 1573, de Lavezaris said:

> "These natives are being baptized every day and are receiving our holy faith and religion; I hope in our Lord that the spiritual and temporal good will daily increase here, to the glory of our Lord and the honor of your Majesty. It will greatly help the conversion of these natives if some religious of the Name of Jesus and friars of the Order of St. Francis should come, because it is something of great edification to offset the avarice of these barbarians to see that these fathers do not receive or handle money, which will be a great example to them.
>
> "Will your Majesty provide what you see fit, for it will certainly give satisfaction to all at seeing those holy men here."

Writing to the king about a year later, July 17, 1574, he again called attention to the great need of missionaries:

> "There is a great need here for religious, Franciscans, Dominicans and Theatines and some clerics, for the conversion of these natives. The Theatines are especially needed, as I have seen the great fruit which they have achieved in India, and because, with the coming of settlers, it will be necessary to form some towns of Spaniards, not only in Luzon, because it is very large, but also in others.
>
> "These natives are now being baptized daily and receiving our holy faith and religion and are very quiet and peaceful, which will continue to increase if there are many religious of the Orders which I have mentioned; because there are only ten religious of the Order of St. Augustine here and these are very few for the amount that is to be accomplished."

These requests were referred to the Viceroy of Mexico who

made them known to the Jesuit provincial there. Discussion of the matter followed in the first congregation of that province, composed of four fathers, which convened on October 5, 1577. Father Pedro Díaz was chosen as procurator and, for the information of the general of the Society, Everard Mercurian, he took a report on the Philippines which had been written some years previously by an Augustinian. It was August, 1579 when Díaz returned to Mexico and brought a letter to the viceroy, dated January 31, 1579, in which the general of the Society said:

> "Most Excellent Sir: From the report of Father Pedro Sánchez, which we have, and from the very recent one given by Father Pedro Díaz I am aware of the continual protection which your Excellency bestows on the Society. . . . Father Pedro Díaz is escorting a goodly number of religious, as requested by his Catholic Majesty, and some may be assigned to the Philippines, in accordance with the desire expressed by your Excellency."

Meanwhile, in June, 1579, Domingo de Salazar, O.P., the first bishop of the Philippines, complained to the king that he did not have any religious companion and that the House of Trade was not advancing money for the journey to the Philippines, and he asked permission to take some members of the Society of Jesus, to which the king agreed.

Father General cautioned the provincial of Mexico to select men of known virtue and learning to inaugurate the Philippine Mission, and in his instructions to the Visitor, Juan de la Plaza, the latter was told to see that the Jesuits devoted themselves, principally, to the lowly and needy, to the *Morenos* and natives, and that they learn the language of the country as a most important means of exercising their ministry.

Father Antonio Sedeño was appointed superior of the Jesuit pioneers and with him were to go Father Alonso Sánchez, Gaspar Suárez, theological student, and Nicolás Gallardo, temporal coadjutor. The small number in this first group may have been due to a doubt on the part of Father Plaza that a permanent establishment of the Society in Manila was possible.

Antonio Sedeño had the distinction of pioneering in two hemispheres, for he was among the Jesuits who endeavored so laboriously, but unsuccessfully, to establish the Florida Mission. He was left as Superior of the Mission by Father Juan

Bautista Segura when the latter and seven companions went north to Virginia all of whom met death at the hands of the Indians in 1571 between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, only some fifty miles south of the site of the city of Washington. Later, with the abandonment of the Florida Mission, Sedeño went to Mexico with the first Jesuits sent to that country.

Father Alonso Sánchez was such a unique character that it is necessary to give a survey of his earlier life. He was a native of Mondéjar in Spain and studied philosophy at Alcalá where he obtained his bachelor's degree, and was admitted to the Society at the age of twenty. He was ordained and pronounced his solemn vows on March 3, 1571. Sánchez, as a student, was given to physical exercises and poetry, and his admission to the Society was said to have been deferred for two years on the ground that he was unable to walk much. To disprove this he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Nuestra Señora del Pilar at Zaragoza and another to Montserrat. Alegre states that the pilgrimages were made to Peña de Francia, Guadalupe and Montserrat with the intention of becoming a hermit. Turselini quotes Sánchez as saying that he had been to Guadalupe, Montserrat, and other shrines dedicated to Our Lady in Spain, but the dates of the visits are not mentioned. According to Alegre all the severity and other eccentricities of Sánchez became manifest on these pilgrimages, and he also relates that after pronouncing his first vows Sánchez was sent off in a brown cassock to teach grammar in the lowest class in Plasencia, where he was pestered with questions and arguments from a precocious youngster in the class. This was done by superiors to test the strong spirit of Sánchez, which they recognized. Assuming the truth of this statement, it is odd that superiors would defer such a test until after the novitiate, the proper time for such trials. Pastells, an ardent admirer of Sánchez, manifests some doubt as to the veracity of Alegre in passages critical of Sánchez.

The first office of Father Sánchez in the Society was that of vice-rector of the college of Navalcarnero in the diocese of Toledo. While holding that office he united the Jesuit community with the parochial church by virtue of an apostolic indult. This so irritated the archbishop that, to placate him,

the provincial sent Sánchez to Caravaca, where he taught grammar for about five years. Alegre expresses it by saying that the rigid inflexibility of Sánchez brought down on the Society and himself the indignation of the authorities.

On August 7, 1579, Sánchez arrived in Mexico with Fathers Raymundo del Prado and Francisco Almerici who were to follow him later to the Philippines. Other prominent members of the party were Father Antonio Torres, a talented preacher, Father Bernardino de Acosta, with talent for governing, Father Martín Fernández, for many years a master of novices, and Father Juan Díaz, experienced in the universities of Córdova and Seville. Sánchez surpassed all in talent, but his natural characteristics began to crop out and he became a source of disturbance. He advocated long prayer, seclusion, and excessive penances, and to some extent influenced even the Provincial. Some idea of conditions may be gathered from a letter which Father General Acquaviva sent in April, 1581, to Father Juan de la Plaza, who was appointed provincial on November 11, 1580, in succession to Father Pedro Sánchez:

> "I believe your Reverence has knowledge of the new manner of prayer, recollection and extraordinary penance which some say is followed by Father Alonso Sánchez, and what is worse, that he has influenced some of Ours, among them Father Pedro Sánchez; and not content with that he has taught and preached it publicly, which has caused great worry, as something which can do great harm to the Institute of the Society.
>
> "I believe your Reverence will have taken notice of this, and if not, do so; and order him for me that he is not to treat with anyone on such a manner of prayer, and that his penances and mortifications be accompanied by the virtue of obedience, as they should be; and that without an order or permission of superiors he is not to do as he pleases with his person, for it is not his own.
>
> "I declare that damage can be done to our Institute by any method of prayer which does not incline the soul to the acts and ministries of our vocation in divine service, salvation and perfection of our neighbors, and anything which is strange or foreign to the grace and direction given to the Society by our Lord God is to be deemed an illusion."

Following the reception of this letter the Provincial seems to have acted to put an end to the incipient disorder, a task which was facilitated by the departure of Sánchez for the Philippines in 1581. In connection with this incident Pastells

becomes somewhat perturbed over the statement of Alegre of the very things which were reprehended by the general. Then Alegre remarked that the appointment of Sánchez to the Philippines might appear to have been one of expediency and human prudence, but subsequent events showed it to be a divine election. This seems to please Pastells and raises his esteem of Alegre. The choice may have been divine, at least indirectly, but one cannot help thinking that it was a relief to the Provincial to have a source of potential trouble removed to a safe distance of eight thousand miles.

In his characterization of Sánchez, Alegre states that he was

> "A great servant of God, but of vehement and austere spirit, which had to be moderated at times by superiors; magnanimous in undertaking great things which seemed to be for the glory of God; constant and tenacious in carrying them out in spite of persecution and difficulty. . . ."

Astrain says the whole life of Sánchez can be reduced to three points; prayer in seculsion, long disputes about the spirit of the Society, and particularly in public affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical. He comments that there has been no one like him in the Society, either before or since. In another passage he calls him an undecipherable religious enigma.

This last statement seems to throw more of an aura of mystery about Sánchez than is warranted. His career may be divided into two phases; the first covering his life up to his arrival in Rome in 1589; the second, the remainder of his life. A perusal of his letters, as this first phase transpires, provides us with a sufficient basis to characterzie him as a religious enthusiast, leaning to excess in prayer and penance, and rather intolerant where similar sentiments were not found in others. He manifested more of the spirit of a Carthusian than a Jesuit and might have been better placed as such, at least during this first phase of his life; and, as will be seen in his letter of June 16, 1583, to the General, he himself mentioned that he "resembled a Carthusian." Astrain comments that mingled with his inclination to prayer and rigid penance were other qualities befitting an Egyptian monk. The second phase of his life will be seen later.

The Provincial's instructions to the Philippine missionaries

were, naturally, along the lines of those of the General, emphasizing the acquisition of the language of the country.

> ". . . in order to assist the natives to save their souls, insofar as it can be done in conformity with our mode of life, not taking charge of parishes, and help the Spaniards with our ministry, for there will be place for all. . ."

The pioneers were now ready to start their long journey, and in a record book of the province of Mexico it was noted that:

> "Brother Nicolás Gallardo, a native of Valladolid, arrived in the province of Mexico in September, 1580, with the procurator Father M. P. Díaz, Fathers Francisco Majano and Cristóbal Angel, and Brothers Gaspar Gómez and Andrés González, an Italian.
>
> "In the year 1581, January, in the provincialate of Father Dr. Juan de la Plaza, he set out to found the mission of the Philippines with Fathers Antonio Sedeño, professed of four vows, and Alonso Sánchez, professed of three vows, and Brother Francisco de Toledo, theologian."

This entry means that the Jesuits assigned to the Philippines left Mexico City in January and went down to Acapulco on the coast, a distance of 180 miles, south-by-west, from the capital. We do not know how long this journey lasted; we merely know that they were in the port more than a month before sailing. Father Bobadilla, who travelled this road twice, said that the distance was eighty leagues;

> "A desert filled with mountains where one suffers extreme heat and the annoyance of mosquitoes. . . . Acapulco is a great harbor, protected from all winds and defended by a famous castle."

It is safe to assume that the accomodations were not as good in 1581 as they were in 1648 when Fray Domingo Navarrete, O.P., passed through and recorded that:

> "All the houses are low, without any upper floor, the better ones built of adobe and all roofed with straw. . . . The climate is infernal, conformably to the name it bears. During the rainy season, all, except the negroes, some poor persons and the soldiers, retire to the back country for a change of air and location."

The galleon in which the travellers of 1581 took passage was the *San Martín*, under the command of General D. Luis de Saragosa with 96 officers and seamen. The passenger list included Bishop Domingo Salazar and one Dominican with twenty-four servants, clerics and lay assistants, the prior of

the Augustinians with seventeen friars, the Commissary of the Franciscans with three friars, Sedeño and three Jesuits, Canon Vásquez de Mercado, five married men with their wives and three daughters and thirty-one single passengers. The vessel also carried 153,356 pesos.

On March 29, 1581, they weighed anchor and stood out to sea. For the Jesuits this departure was saddened almost immediately by the illness and death nine days later of Gaspar Suárez. He was a younger brother of Francisco Suárez, the theologian, and was born in Granada in 1554 to Gaspar Suárez, a lawyer, and his wife Doña Antonia. The mother died October, 1567, and the father on March 5, 1570, whereupon Gaspar was sent to the College of Salamanca by Francisco, who acted as administrator of the family estate. After a year at Salamanca Francisco was sent to Segovia to teach philosphy. Gaspar went with him and may have attended his lectures. He remained in Segovia for Francisco's ordination and first mass, and then returned to Salamanca where he was admitted to the Society on September 27, 1573, by Father Baltasar Alvarez, Vice-provincial of Castile. After completing the course of Arts and one year of theology he volunteered for the missions. With a group of fourteen priests and scholastics, he sailed for Mexico on May 29, 1579. He was an exemplary religious and gave great promise of future usefulness, closely resembling, it is said, his famous brother.

The following is Sedeño's report of the first Jesuit trans-Pacific voyage:

> "Last year, 1581, Father Doctor Plaza, by order of Father Everard sent four of us of the Society to these Philippine Islands; Father Alonso Sánchez, Brother Gaspar de Toledo, theological student, Brother Nicolás Gallardo, temporal coadjutor, and me.
>
> "We left the port of Acapulco, the point of departure for these islands, on March 29 of the same year, and almost as soon as we sailed Brother Toledo fell ill with a burning fever which ended his life after nine days, in spite of all the remedies which could be tried under the circumstances. His illness was aggravated by the very great heat which causes ten or twelve days of calms, and is the ordinary thing in leaving that port until the latitude of twelve degrees is reached. A Franciscan, an Augustinian, a secular priest and two lay persons also died, all of whom the Lord desired to take.
>
> "Brother Toledo died on Saturday, the day of Our Lady, to whom he was very devout, and we hope in the Lord that he was taken to

His glory, for besides the great virtue and religious spirit for which he was always known, it appeared that during the whole time that we were in port, almost a month, that he gave himself greatly to prayer, sometimes spending two hours on his knees without interruption. He showed the greatest conformity to the will of God in his illness and bore the suffering with great patience and joy; and although it was very severe we never heard him complain or show any sign of impatience; leaving us greatly edified, but deeply distressed at losing such a subject. God plucked the ripe fruit.

"The voyage to these Philippines is the longest and least turbulent, I believe, of all the discoveries. After ten or twelve days of calms, during which the people suffer a little from the heat, although the ship always progresses, the latitude of twelve or thirteen degrees is reached and there the wind is very cool and the heat is forgotten. The wind is always astern and the closer one approaches the equinoctial the stronger and cooler they are. Thus the pilots, who are very skillful, navigate along ten or eleven degrees and the winds are so favorable and steady that the sails are scarcely changed. The sea is so moderate, although this is a gulf of two thousand leagues, that it is not felt any more than sailing on a river.

"At the head of this gulf are some islands, fifteen or sixteen in number, extending north and south at a distance of ten or twelve leagues apart. They are called Ladrones, where the ships make port and take on necessary supplies to continue the voyage. The people of these islands, at least on the one on which we stopped, which is some forty leagues in circumference, are well-disposed and of good appearance, joyful, affable, and show intelligence and capacity of receiving our holy faith, more so than those here. It tore our hearts and grieved us to see their loss and feel the impossibility of preaching the gospel to them, although it may some day please God to send us back to them so that they may not be left helpless.[1]

"They came out to sea more than three or four leagues to meet us, in some small little canoes shaped like shuttles, with sails woven of palm leaves, which are not more efficient than cloth. They sail with extraordinary velocity and so dexterous in maneuvering them that in the time of a Credo they can change the bow to stern and stern to bow, and go against the wind in a remarkable manner.[2]

[1] Sedeño's sympathy for the Chamorros of the Ladrones (now the Marianas) was shared by other missionaries who touched at the islands. A year after Sedeño's visit, a group of Franciscans touched there and in writing from Manila to the king on June 14, 1582, Fray Gerónimo de Burgos said: "The people have no gold, silver, or anything to trade which the Christians seek and hence no one goes there and that is why they have remained so long in their infidelity."

[2] These boats aroused the admiration of all Europeans who touched at the Marianas Islands. Because of the relative positions of the islands—Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Guam—and the prevailing northeast trade wind,

"There is a great scarcity of iron and when they sight a ship they come out to barter for wine barrel hoops, which the sailors and passengers break into small pieces, and with this trade the ship is flooded with a thousand kinds of refreshments, such as cocoanuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, rice, fish, and other products of the land. I believe there were more than three hundred canoes clustered around the ship, bartering for pieces of iron, some leaving, some coming, so that nothing else could be seen on the water. The arrival of ships from New Spain is their market day.

"From there to this island is about three hundred leagues; that your Paternity may know where there are peopled islands; and that they are on the route and stretched out in the middle of this enormous gulf. There are other islands, full of people in the middle of this ocean, two hundred leagues further away and called *barbados*, because the inhabitants allow their beards to grow.

"From these Ladrones we set out to continue our voyage with brisk winds, which brought us, and always prevail, and are always favorable except four months of the year, June, July, August and September; for during this period the southwest winds set in. Hence the best time to sail from New Spain for this region is the middle of February or, at the latest, the beginning of March, and this makes it possible to cross the entire gulf in less than two months. Owing to the fact that we started late it took us about six months, although a part of it was spent in a port of this island awaiting good weather."

It is said that, in crossing the Pacific, the little group of Jesuits lived on the ordinary fare of the seamen, except during times of sickness when they accepted gifts from the passengers. This statement is made by a later writer and may very reasonably be doubted. The group which crossed to the Philippines in 1584 had an abundance of good food, as we learn from the letter of Father Francisco Almerici of June 15, 1585, and there is little reason to think that the Jesuits of 1581 fared otherwise. The passengers had to provide their

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the sailing from one island to another was either directly before the wind or beating into it. As a result, the natives had developed an unusual shape for their canoes; one side was straight, from stem to stern, while the other side had the ordinary curved shape. An outrigger prevented capsizing. The mast was stepped in the middle of the boat and the sail was carried on a gaff of such a length that an end would touch either the bow or stern when drawn down. To go from one tack to another it was necessary only to release the forward end of the gaff, draw down the free end to the end of the boat, which automatically swung the free end of the sail and its sheet to the other end, and change the direction of the boat to fill the sail on the new tack. It was unnecessary to turn the boat as in ordinary fore-and-aft rigging, and it would sail closer to the wind."

own food for those voyages and it is improbable that the religious superiors or the officials of the galleon would have allowed the Jesuits to embark without food. If, nevertheless, the statement is true we may look for an explanation in the domineering spirit of Sánchez imposing his ideas on the entire party.

To save time, all, or some, of the passengers disembarked in southeast Luzon, in what is now the province of Sorsogon. These made their way overland to Manila and the Franciscans insisted that all should accept the hospitality of the houses of their Order of the province of Camarines, which was under their care and through which the travellers passed. A letter written by Bishop Salazar to the king from Manila on June 10, 1582, reported:

> "We left Acapulco, the port of New Spain, on March 29, 1581. At the beginning of July we sighted this island and landed in a port of it which is called Ibalon, some ninety leagues from this city, where we remained eighteen or twenty days waiting for favorable winds to leave that port. As the southwest winds continued to prevail I decided to come by land, because by sea was rendered impossible by the unfavorable wind.
>
> I entered this city of Manila on September 17, where I was well received by all, and by virtue of the Apostolic Bulls, orders and *cédulas* of your Majesty they rendered me the obedience due to their prelate and bishop."

In the absence of specific information we may assume that our Jesuits arrived in Manila with Bishop Salazar or approximately the same time. In 1582, Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa reported the arrival in the following passage of his letter:

> "Last year three Theatines came from New Spain, two priests, the Fathers Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez, great servants of God, learned men, and they accomplish great good. I deem them very good persons for this place and it would help if more were sent."

On arriving in Manila the Jesuits were offered accommodations in the Franciscan monastery, where, for three months, they followed the community life of that house in all of its details until a house of their own could be constructed in the suburb, Laguio.[3]

[3] The Franciscans had arrived in the Philippines in 1578 where they established the Custodia of San Gregoria, and by the Bull of Sixtus V, *Dum ad uberes fructus*, November 15, 1586, it became a province.

Jesuit Reductions in the Philippines and Paraguay

Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J.

One of the foremost obstacles encountered by the early Jesuit missionaries in the Philippine Islands was the wide dispersion of population. In various islands where the missionaries worked small groups of natives were, in many cases, isolated from their fellow islanders by mountain ridges or nearly impassable natural barriers. It was therefore impossible for the handful of missionaries to accomplish their spiritual and corporal ministrations if their flocks remained in these inaccessable regions or scattered over a wide area. The solution adapted, and one which was encouraged by royal decrees, was that of "reducing" or gathering the people into a place where a sizable number could be visited by the missionary with relative facility. Such a place or pueblo was known as a *reducción*.[1]

Consequently, when Jesuit Fathers returned to Mindanao in 1862 and began the difficult task of forming a Christian community in the thoroughly Mohammedan region of Cotabato, it is not at all strange that they should eventually strike upon the idea of organizing a reduction. However, the circumstances under which these latter Jesuits labored were entirely different from those of three centuries previous. For they were in a pagan environment which was, at times, violently hostile. And this hostility, they reasoned, was to be broken by implanting in its midst a ready-made Christian community, and shielding it, by force if necessary, from extinction. This they did, and if the Jesuit Fathers looked for

[1] The financial value of centralizing the Indians was not entirely lost sight of by the crown since it facilitated tax-gathering. There is no Philippine equivalent for Lesley Byrd Simpson's study of the actual gathering together of the Indians and placing them in newly founded towns, *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain. I. The Laws of Burgos of 1512. II. The Civil Congregation*, Ibero-Americana: 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934); see, however, John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 44-49.

a model for their newly-risen community, they might easily have found it, and in all probability did, in the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. It is our purpose, therefore, to throw some light upon the similarities and differences between the little-known Philippine reduction of Tamontaka and its earlier prototype.[2]

Reduction Beginnings

The itinerant Jesuit missions of South America were judged in 1602, to be inadequate for the complete Christianization of the Indians.[3] Instead, permanent settlements, remote from the corruptable influence of the white man, were ordered established by Father General Acquaviva. So began the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. The "Christian Republic" which actually began in 1610 with the opening of St. Ignatius Reduction, was eventually to hold as many as 150,000 Indians at one time.[4]

In general, peaceful means were used to induce Indians to begin life anew in the reduction. However, there were times when the missionaries would "kidnap" several Indians from an obstinate tribe and after they had been well treated, instructed in the Faith and loaded with gifts, were sent back to their tribesmen, in the hope that others would come peaceably. More often than not, however, the method was not so drastic, for the Indians were eager to be assured a degree of protection from the slave-hunting mameluks.

> "Typically, one or two missionaries, followed by a small group of Indians, travelled to a tribe and there won friends by giving the natives presents of iron tools and miscellaneous goods. For this reason the missionaries usually were granted the hospitality that

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[2] The data on Tamontaka given in this article was gathered on a research project of the Xavier University Social Science Research Institute. The report of the project can be found in an article by Francis C. Madigan, S.J. and Nicholas P. Cushner, S.J., "Tamontaka, a Sociological Experiment," *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, XIX, 4 (December, 1958), 322-336. I wish here to express my thanks to Xavier University for permission to consult this data and particularly to Fr. Francis C. Madigan, S.J., for supplying me with additional information.

[3] Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, translation edited by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Techny: Mission Press, S.V.D., 1933), pp. 390-391.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 392. Our discussion here is concerned primarily with the Spanish Reductions, and not the Portuguese *Aldeias*.

traders enjoyed in many regions. Later, after gaining the confidence of the Indians, the Fathers endeavored to persuade them to settle in a new village where they would be under the care of a missionary and would be amply provided with iron tools. So great was the desire of the Indians for axes and knives that in many cases they were willing enough to relinquish their liberty for a constant supply of tools. The Indians also were drawn into missions by the hope that, under the protection of the Fathers, they would enjoy a bountiful existence free from want. Another major reason for the Jesuits' success was the Indians' fear of enslavement by Spanish raiders. Indians who had suffered from such raids believed that only the missionaries could save them from total extermination."[5]

The Paraguay reduction was to make the white man remote, the very opposite of the conception behind the Tamontaka settlement. The Tamontaka Christian was to be close to the Spanish soldiery and officials for protection, and both spacially and culturally distant from the Moros.[6] The Philippine reduction was to admit only children, for a complete break with the surrounding Moslem culture was aimed at. The young boys and girls were to be raised in the folkways and *mores* of Christianity. Slave children could easily be purchased in the slave markets of the southern Philippines. Once such an institution were developed, it could profoundly influence the surrounding Moro environment. Such was the idea conceived in 1861 by Fr. José Cuevas. It was put into effect eleven years later, when the reduction of Tamontaka was inaugurated

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[5] Alfred Metraux, "Jesuit Missions in South America," *Handbook of South American Indians* (6 vols., Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1946-50), V, 646. On the other hand, it is also claimed that the Spanish colonists made no great effort to prevent Portuguese slave-hunters from attacking the reductions since they themselves wanted the valuable Guaraní for their own *encomiendas*. On this whole question see the enlightening discussions in C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686* (London: The Athlone Press, 1952), pp. 71-72; 121-139.

[6] Moros are Filipino Mohammedans whose religious ancestors were proselytized and converted to Islam in the late fifteenth century. The Mohammedan evangelists came from Borneo and Malacca, hence, their first areas of concentration were in the southern Philippines. By the time the Spaniards arrived in 1565 to found a permanent settlement, a Moslem Rajah ruled Manila, so far north had they penetrated. But by 1861 the Moslems no longer entertained hopes of incorporating the whole Philippines into the Mohammedan pale, for their power of extension had been successfully checked by Spanish gunboats. Nevertheless, southern Mindanao remained very much under their lawless sway.

on an ideal site about two and one-half miles south of the present town of Cotabato in southwestern Mindanao.

Therefore, the method of recruitment at Tamontaka was quite different from that of Paraguay. Slave children were bought and then brought to the institution. On September 9, 1872, four boys were brought to Tamontaka, the first inmates. By 1875, sixty boys and thirty girls (then taken care of by nuns) were in the reduction and by 1879, with money obtained from pious foundations, 160 children had been ransomed. The beginnings showed excellent promise.

Political Organization

Spanish colonial policy, and law, prescribed that all newly founded municipalities were to be organizationally modelled upon peninsular Spanish towns.[7] The missions of Paraguay fell under this category. Therefore, a *cabildo* (town council) was the center of government, which was ordinarily composed of one or two *alcaldes ordinarios* (magistrates) and from four to twleve *regidores* (councillors).[8] In addition to the council was a constable, a secretary and a procurator. Over the cabildo presided a *corregidor* who was usually selected by the missionaries and approved by the governor. In the *corregidor*, who held his position for life, resided the local civil authority.

In practice, however, it was the missionaries who held the real power in the Paraguay reduction and it was rare that their authority was questioned. Events which took place in the mission were to be reported to the Fathers by the cabildo and so the Jesuits were kept well informed on daily doings. It is reported that children were sometimes recruited to let the missionaries know of any observed irregularities.[9] Thus, the Guaraní were kept well in hand.

The Jesuit Reduction of Tamontaka was not as well knit as its Paraguayan ancestor. This is partially due to the nature

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[7] Metraux, *op. cit.*, 647.

[8] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these offices, and others, were usually purchased. It is improbable, however, that such was the case in the reductions. See J. H. Parry, *The Sale of Public Office in the Spanish Indies under the Hapsburgs*, Ibero-Americana: 37 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 33-35.

[9] Metraux, *op. cit.*, 648-649.

of its development. Further, the children of the community were legally dependent on the Fathers until they reached the age of marriage (24 for boys, 20 for girls), and although there were the usual village offices, these tended to be even more under the direct supervision of the priest than those in the Paraguay mission. Both married "*libertos*" and "orphans" of the Tamontaka community relied heavily on the advice of the Fathers in personal and community affairs. In such a situation, the power ascendance of the priest was inevitable. Yet few complaints were registered, which seems to indicate a moderate rule. In general, we can say that the political structure of the two types of communities was almost the same, but Tamontaka tended more towards the absolute.

Practically all Jesuit Missions were constructed along the lines of the Spanish plaza complex. In the center was a large square plaza around which there was a church, convento or college, schools, hospital and guest house. The Indians' dwellings, long and with adobe walls, were in parallel lines along streets running at right angles to one another. Communal dwellings were later partitioned into individual family apartments. A porch surrounded each house.[10]

Tamontaka was constructed along the same lines. A large chapel faced westward. A residence for the Fathers and for the boys was to the left of the chapel and was connected to it by a second storey covered walk which entered upon the chapel balcony. To the right of the chapel was the *Colegio*, which served as both the home of the sisters, and the girls dormitory. Southwest of the convento were the house stables, rice mill and storage halls. On the opposite side of the plaza, facing the Church, was the *Tribunal*, or Court. To the south and west were the homes of married "orphans" who received, upon marriage, two hectares of land and a carabao, a sufficient inducement to keep the Christians within the community. The area of the land under cultivation, therefore, depended upon the number of families in the reduction. There was also communal land, as there was in Paraguay, which was worked once or twice a week for the benefit of the community. The produce was to be used when the need arose.[11]

[10] Metraux, *loc. cit.*

[11] "The tupambae, or God's acre, was always one of the best pieces of

Agriculture and Industry

Agriculture, livestock and limited industry formed the backbone of the Paraguay reduction. Land was distributed to the caciques (chiefs) who in turn divided it among the families in his clan. A newlywed couple received a plot for themselves. Even those who engaged in industrial work, brickmakers, carpenters, stonecutters, bakers, cooks, butchers, tanners, potters, joiners, goldsmiths, sculptors, painters and musicians, had a piece of land which was tilled for them, thereby injecting a note of stability into the Indians' lives.[12] They always had some source of support to which they could turn. Common fields were worked on Mondays and Saturdays.

Products of the mission industries were usually taken to Santa Fe or Buenos Aires and there sold or traded. Hides from the mission cattle were likewise sold. Some missions were estimated to have possessed 400,000 head of cattle. The herds dwindled, however, when the reductions were abandoned.[13]

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land in the community. Communally tilled and exploited, the existence of these plots is the prime evidence of Jesuit collectivism. In some cases the tupambae was cultivated by the whole community on Saturdays and Mondays as a social service and a work of charity. In other cases it was cared for by a group of expert gardeners who were then paid out of the community chest, for which the tupambae itself was the main provision. The yield of the field was used to pay officials and messengers, and to support cripples, orphans, and other indigents. As a last resort, the communal harvest was distributed when famine afflicted the mission; sometimes part of the crops were sent to other distressed communities in the area." Metraux, *op. cit.*, 650.

[12] For a complete list of the industries developed in the reductions, see Metraux, *op. cit.*, 651.

[13] A recent study of the Spanish colonial system under the Bourbons mentions that after the expulsion of the Jesuits ". . . the new system afforded the Indians no economic guidance or protection. They were ruthlessly robbed of their cattle by savage Indians and by gangs of Portuguese and Spanish rustlers: the decline in livestock after the expulson of the Jesuits was recorded by Intendant Alos in 1788:

	Number of Cattle		
	1768	1769	1788
Department of Santiago:			
Santa Maria de Fe	60,287	33,492	15,338
San Ignacio Guazu	16,037	10,121	15,511
Santa Rosa	80,044	78,797	26,313
Santiago	36,432	32,422	32,290
San Cosme	42,914	39,983	18,705

(continued next page)

The emphasis at Tamontaka was on agriculture, although those boys who showed manual skills were tutored by the Jesuit Brother, and in some cases sent to Manila for further instruction. Some of their iron-work is still to be seen in the Tamontaka church. Special training, however, was more the exception than the rule. The land was very fertile and so given to rice raising. Some vegetables and sugar cane were also grown. In view of the fact that the average farm was two or more hectares we must conclude that the farming was on a subsistence level. This would seem to have been deliberate since any excess produce was usually stolen by marauding Moros. The Tamontakans were content to raise a varied crop, sufficient for their needs, supplemented by fish caught in the nearby Pulangi river, and some hunting.

From this brief view of the Jesuit land policy in the reductions it is easily seen that it was by no means communistic. Quite the contrary:

> "The Jesuits had no desire to create a communistic state; on the contrary, they did their best to develop a sense of individual property among the Indians by encouraging them to plant a surplus to trade in the Spanish towns and by giving them cattle to build up herds of their own."[14]

The only "communist" feature was the common land which experience taught to be a necessity. In Paraguay, however, the missionaries did control production and consumers' goods, which action was called for, the missionaries argued, in view of the alleged improvidence of their charges.

Each Jesuit Reduction maintained a school for girls and another for boys. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and in some places a little Latin was taught. Workshops were also main-

Department of Candelaria:			
Ytapua	32,500	32,500	31,755
Candelaria	25,809	15,823	18,288
Santa Ana	50,751	35,313	23,559
Poreto	34,975	40,660	12,916
San Ignacio Mini	37,695	33,630	12,145
Corpus	20,423	10,331	23,362
Trinidad	25,567	6,286	3,525
Jesus	52,937	42,811	10,099
	516,371	412,169	243,906"

John Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782-1810* (London: The Athlone Press, 1958), p. 188.

[14] Metraux, *op. cit.*, 652.

tained where the trades mentioned above were taught by the missionaries. Church music was also learned and "visitors to the missions declared that the songs heard at mass compared favorably with those sung in European cathedrals."[15]

Tamontaka put considerable stress on schooling, which began soon after arrival at the "orphanage." The curriculum included catechism, grammar, speech, composition and reading; music and musical instrument playing was also taught, which resulted in a large brass band. Spanish was the quasi-official language used in the classrooms. Outside, however, the children usually spoke the local Magindanao dialect. The schooling period usually lasted five years and then, if they did not go to Manila for either further vocational or academic subjects, they learned the rudiments of plowing, sowing and livestock handling. The girls, since they helped at seeding time and harvest, also took part in agricultural classes. For the most part, however, they learned weaving, basket-making and embroidery. The course was along practical lines for the students were being prepared for a very definite future whose possibilities were not too many.

Dispersion

The story of the suppression of the Society and the subsequent decadence of the reductions of Paraguay is too well known to warrant retelling.[16] The American war with Spain caused the dispersion of the Tamontaka reduction.

In 1898 the Spanish-American war broke out, the effects of which were also felt in far-off Tamontaka. The Spanish garrison there decided to vacate Cotabato and it was thought best that the Fathers of the reduction leave also. The exact date of departure, however, seems uncertain. The Jesuit Fathers possibly left in 1901 and returned the next year. There are other strong indications, however, that they left with the Spanish soldiers in January of 1898. Both dates though are possibly correct. For when the Fathers departed in 1899, two remained at the settlement until they were finally taken into custody by Filipino revolutionaries.

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[15] *Ibid.*, 649.

[16] See, e.g., Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-195.

When most of the Fathers left Tamontaka in 1899, they went with the Spanish soldiers to Zamboanga. With them they took almost 60 of the younger children. In all probability a shortage of food would result from the coming hostilities and the Fathers considered themselves to be in a better position to care for the young ones' needs. The remaining older children were left in Cotabato with any Christian relatives they might have.

With the American occupation of Cotabato in 1902, some priests returned to Cotabato town, and each Sunday one journeyed to Tamontaka to say Mass. The school was also reopened, probably run by an American soldier, but it was eventually abandoned in 1910. The reduction, however, never again functioned as an orphanage and agricultural colony.

At the present date, all that remains of the once flourishing reduction is the church and a few bricks which mark the site of the former convento and *colegio*. Mass is said in the church on alternate Sundays by an Oblate Father from Cotabato City. Plans are now underway to turn the church into a shrine and place of pilgrimage, a fitting tribute to the heroic men who labored there.

Conclusion

The communal organization of Tamontaka bears a marked similarity to the Paraguay reductions. Their very *raisons d'etre* bear no little semblance, for both grew out of the long cherished desire to obviate oppression and religious disintegration. In conclusion, certain general points of comparison are worth summarizing.

Both institutions were regulated and governed by a hierarchial system which was essentially theocratic. But while the Paraguayan reductions benefited by a native administration which followed the organizational pattern proposed by the *Leyes de Indias*, Tamontaka tended more towards absolutism, the absolute being the priest in charge. In Tamontaka, however, the major judicial decisions of the priest required the further approval of the Spanish Administrator at nearby Cotabato town. This, in turn, provides another point of divergence, in that Tamontaka was near jurisdictional authority, which was certainly not the case in Paraguay. For although

Spaniards were excluded, with rare exceptions, from the Paraguay reductions, and royal officials enthusiastically welcomed; the remoteness of the reductions rendered frequent visitation prohibitive.

In the economic sphere, especially with regard to property, there were also similarities. Most interesting is the fact that in both Tamontaka and Paraguay newlyweds received a plot of land which they cultivated for their own needs. Likewise, education of the natives was similar. Reading, writing, arithmetic and crafts were stressed. In Paraguay, however, the teaching of Spanish was not encouraged, while at Tamontaka Castilian was the quasi-official language which was used as the medium of instruction in all classes. Music was also taught, as in all Spanish colonies, for it facilitated memorizing the *doctrina* and solemnizing religious celebrations. Needless to say, in both educational systems, which was mainly for the boys in Paraguay, and at all other functions, strict segregation of the sexes was rigidly enforced.

The plan or appearance of both types of reduction was likewise similar, since both were apparently modelled on Spanish towns. In the center was the church, convento, schools, plaza and storehouses. In front of these were the neatly arranged homes of the natives, and surrounding all were fields under cultivation. The material used in construction depended upon the resources, natural or otherwise, at hand.

The Jesuit Reductions of Tamontaka and Paraguay, although separated by almost a century, seem to partake of the same spirit and essence. They were experiments in religious sociology—attempts to organize a Christian "island" in pagan and hostile environments. And if their success or failure depends upon a successful projection of the culture, values and religion of the Spanish Fathers who directed them, then the reductions of Tamontaka and Paraguay certainly did not fail.[17]

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[17] A number of non-Spanish Fathers likewise worked in the reductions. For an account of their labors there and in the Spanish colonies in general, see Lázaro de Aspurz, O.F.M. Cap., *La aportación extranjera a las misiones españolas del patronato regio* (Madrid: Consejo de Hispanidad, 1946), pp. 168-184.

An Annotated Bibliography in Pastoral Psychology

Frank H. Whelan, S.J.*

I. Pastoral Psychology in General

Arnold, M. & Gasson, J., S.J. *The Human Person:* An Approach to an Integral Theory of Personality. New York: Ronald, 1954. 593 pp.
Written by the above two authors in collaboration with eight other Catholic psychologists, this book attempts to formulate an integrated theory of personality based on a Christian conception of human nature. This book provides a good Catholic background for counseling.

Bier, W. C., S.J., Psychological Aspects of Pastoral Work. *Proceedings of the Archdiocesan Institute of Ecclesiastical Studies.* Dunwoodie, N.Y.: St. Joseph's Seminary, 1957. 122 pp.
A summary of five lectures on pastoral psychology.

Biot, R., & Galimard, P. *Medical Guide to Vocations.* Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1955. 303 pp.
Psychophysiological aspects of vocations to the priesthood and to the religious life are discussed.

Cavanagh, J. R. *Fundamental Pastoral Counseling.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962, 352 pp.
Gives the pastor of souls an awareness of what mental problems are, and professional advice on the techniques available to him to help those with mental problems.

Curran, C. A. *Personality Factors in Counseling.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1945. 287 pp.
This is a book by a Catholic priest employing the client-centered counseling of Rogers.

Curran, C. A. *Counseling in Catholic Life and Education.* New York: Macmillan, 1952. 462 pp.
A further development by Father Curran of the client-centered counseling approach with a development of the distinction between guidance and counseling.

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*Note: In making these annotations the complier is indebted to Wm. C. Bier, S.J. and W. W. Meissner, S.J.

Demal, W., O.S.B. *Pastoral Psychology in Practice.* New York: Kenedy, 1955. 249 pp.

One of the few texts in Pastoral Psychology, translated from the German.

Frankl, Viktor. *The Doctor and the Soul.* New York: Knopf, 1957.

A discussion of psychotherapy utilizing man's spiritual power.

Fordham Clergy Institute of 1955. *Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. 1965. 156 pp.

Problems of guilt, sex deviations, scrupulosity, anxiety, and the psychopathic personality.

Fordham Clergy Institute of 1957. *Proceeding of the 1957 Institute in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. 1958. 253 pp.

Problems of marriage and family living, sex development and pathology, and childhood and adolescence were discussed.

NOTE: The above two Clergy Institutes will be bound in one volume soon by the Fordham University Press.

Fordham Clergy Institute of 1959. Bier, W. C., S.J. (Ed.) *Problems in Addiction: Alcohol and Drug Addiction.* New York: Fordham Univ. 1962. 248 pp.

Fordham Clergy Institute of 1961. Bier, W. C., S.J. (Ed.) *The Adolescent: His Search for Understanding.* New York: Fordham Univ., 1963. 246 pp.

Goldbrunner, J. *Cure of Mind and Cure of Soul.* New York: Pantheon, 1958. 127 pp.

The author leans heavily on Jungian individuation which he characterizes by courage, suffering, endurance, self-control, and intellectual effort.

Hagmaier, G., C.S.P. & Gleason, R., S.J. *Counseling the Catholic.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.

Fr. Hagmaier discusses the psychological perspective and Fr. Gleason the moral perspectives of counseling.

Hiltner, S. *Pastoral Counseling.* New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949. 291 pp.

Written by a Protestant minister, this book is a combination of psychological theory and practical applications on how every clergyman can help people to help themselves.

Laycock, S. R. *Pastoral Counseling for Mental Health.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958.

A brief, well-written book containing useful references.

Loyola University Project. *Religion and Mental Health: A Catholic Viewpoint.* New York: Academy of Religion and Mental Health, 1960.

This report discusses the role of the Catholic priest in the field of mental health and the way in which his training and special knowledge can be used to contribute to the control of mental illness.

Meissner, W. W., S.J. *Annotated Bibliography in Religion & Psychology.* New York: Academy of Religion & Mental Health, 1961. 235 pp.
A significant and comprehensive reference source of a great many articles and books on subjects relevant to the field of religion and psychology.

Rogers, C. R. *Counseling and Psychotherapy.* New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1942. 450 pp.
This is the first and in a sense the easiest appreciated of Rogers' books on client-centered counseling.

Rogers, C. R. *Client-Centered Therapy.* New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1951. 560 pp.
This is a development of Rogers' earlier work.

Snoeck, A., S.J. *Confession and Pastoral Psychology.* Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1961. 183 pp.
A greater awareness of psychological sicknesses will help the priest administer the Sacrament of Penance more aptly.

Tyler, L. E. *The Work of the Counselor.* New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1953. 323 pp.
A good introductory text in counseling.

Van Steenberghen, F. (Ed.) *Psychology, Morality and Education.* London; Burns & Oates, 1958. 128 pp.
A series of essays on Psychology.

Vaughan, R. P., S.J. *Mental Illness and the Religious Life.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. 212 pp.
The book indicates how mental illness can impede the living of a full religious life.

II. Marriage Counseling

Cavanagh, J. R. *Fundamental Marriage Counseling—A Catholic Viewpoint.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1957. 598 pp.
The biological, sexual, fertility, social and religious factors in Marriage are dealt with in this encyclopedic work.

Clemens, A. H. *Marriage and the Family: An Integrated Approach.* N.Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1957. 368 pp.
A comprehensive treatment of the family and its problems.

Clemens, A. H. (Ed.) *Marriage Education and Counseling.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. Press, 1951. 153 pp.
A series of lectures by prominent counselors on various topics.

Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists *Bulletin of Catholic Psychiatrists.* Oct. 1959, Vol. 6, No. 4.
This issue contains a Symposium and Annotated Bibliography on Marriage Counseling.

Johnson, J. *Marriage Counseling According to the Principles of St. Thomas.* Rome: Gregorian Univ., 1958.
A unique study on the subject.

Selected Papers 1957-1958-1959 of the American Catholic Psychological Association, N.Y.: Fordham Univ. 1960. 168 pp.
The 1959 meeting was a Symposium on Marriage Counseling.

Thomas, J. L., S.J. *The Family Clinic: A Book of Questions and Answers.* Westminster, Md: Newman, 1958. 336 pp.
A wealth of information on marriage and home life.

Von Gagern, Baron *Difficulties in Married Life.* Cork: Mercier Press, 1957. 77 pp.
A book written by a Catholic psychiatrist to help spiritual advisers as well as married people who are experiencing difficulties.

Zimmerman, C. & Cervantes, L., S.J. *Marriage and the Family.* Chicago: Regnery, 1956. 590 pp.
Problems of family disorganization are discussed.

III. Varieties of Mental Disorders

Cavanagh, J. R. & McGoldrick, J. B., S.J. *Fundamental Psychiatry.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1953. 582 pp.
Provides a general knowledge of mental maladjustments for professional and semi-professional people.

Dobbelstein, H. *Psychiatry for Priests.* New York: Kenedy, 1954. 148 pp.
In mental illness the priest's role is predominantly one of recognition.

Horney, Karen *Neurosis and Human Growth.* New York: Norton, 1950. 391 pp.
A psychologist's approach to neurosis, its origin and treatment.

Moore, T. V., O.S.B. *Heroic Sanctity and Insanity.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1959. 243 pp.
Reform of the moral and spiritual life can sometimes be an important factor in therapy.

Schneiders, A. A. *Personal Adjustment and Mental Health.* New York: Rinehart, 1955. 587 pp.
A treatment of the entire process of psychological adjustment. It provides an understanding of man's relation to himself and to reality, as expressed in his day-to-day adjustments.

Terruwe, A. A. A. *Psychopathic Personality and Neurosis.* New York: Kenedy, 1958. 172 pp.
Pastoral guidance for these disturbed types.

VanderVeldt, J. H. & Odenwald, R. P. *Psychiatry and Catholicism.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957. 474 pp.
A somewhat encyclopedic approach to the various types of personality disorders by a priest and a psychiatrist has many valuable pastoral implications.

White, R. W. *The Abnormal Personality.* New York: Ronald, 1956. 644 pp.
A comprehensive reference work on all non-religious aspects of adjustment and mental illness, by a capable non-Catholic author.

IV. Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious

Bier, W. C., S.J. *Sigmund Freud and Catholics.* New York: America Press, 1956.
A brief statement of the over-all Catholic position toward psychoanalysis.

Flood, Dom. P., O.S.B. (Ed.) *New Problems in Medical Ethics. Vol. III.* Cork: Mercier Press, 1956. 299 pp.
The third Study in this volume entitled "Psychoanalysis and Moral Conscience" contains articles by E. Tesson, S.J., Ch. Modet, M.D., F. Pasche, M.D., L. Beirnaert, S.J. and I. Caruso, M.D.

Ford, J. C., S.J. *Depth Psychology, Morality and Alcoholism.* Weston, Mass: Weston College Press, 1951. 88 pp.
The first part of this book is an essay on psychoanalysis and unconscious motivation with good bibliographies.

Gemelli, A., O.F.M. *Psychoanalysis Today.* New York: Kenedy, 1955. 153 pp.
A discussion of Freud and Jung. The last section is a discussion on Pius XII's address on Psychotherapy and Clinical Psychology.

Nuttin, J. *Psychoanalysis and Personality:* A dynamic Theory of Normal Personality. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1953. 310 pp.
This book by a Belgian priest proposes a positive explanation of personality integration, employing many psychoanalytic concepts, and including an examination of unconscious motivation and moral responsibility.

Ringel, E. & van Lun, W. *The Priest and the Unconscious.* Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1954. 118 pp.
A psychiatrist and a priest collaborate to write a general introduction to the findings of depth psychology and how they relate to the pastoral work of the priest.

White, V., O.P. *God and the Unconscious.* Chicago: Regnery, 1953. 277 pp.

The series of unrelated chapters which make up the book are of unequal value, but the chapter on the Analyst and the Confessor is particularly good.

Zilboorg, G. *Freud and Religion.* Woodstock Papers No. 3. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958. 65 pp.

Until his death, Freud struggled against his own religious and spiritual impulses.

V. Psychological Disorder and Moral Responsibility

Beirnaert, L., S.J. "Does Sanctification Depend on Psychic Structure." In *Cross Currents.* 1951, No. 2. pp. 39-43.

Braceland, F. J. (Ed.) *Faith, Reason and Modern Psychiatry.* New York: Kenedy, 1955. 310 pp.

The nature of man is considered from many points of view—doctor, historian, philosopher, theologian, etc.

Cammack, J. S., S.J. *Moral Problems of Mental Defect.* London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1938. 200 pp.

Types of mental defect are discussed in relation to determining the moral and legal responsibility of the mentally difficient.

Duhamel, Jos. S., S.J. "Theological and Psychiatric Aspects of Habitual Sin: 1. Theological Aspects." *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention.* New York: Catholic Theological Society of America, 1956. 294 pp.

A moral theologian gives careful appraisal of the effect of habitual sin and psychological disorder on moral responsibility.

Ford, John C., S.J. & Kelly, Gerald, S.J. *Contemporary Moral Theology.* Vol. I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958. 368 pp.

This work contains a series of chapters on psychological problems related to moral theology.

Goldbrunner, J. *Holiness is Wholeness.* London: Burns & Oates, 1955. 63 pp.

The problem of the relation of health to asceticism is considered. Suggestions are made for the use of depth psychology in the development of spiritual health and religious life.

Pickett, R. C. *Mental Affliction and Church Law.* Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press, 1952. 220 pp.

This is a doctoral dissertation in canon law which consequently emphasizes the canonical more than the moral effects of psychological disorder. There are few treatises on this subject, and hence the present work is a valuable one.

Von Gagern, Baron *Difficulties in Life.* Cork: Mercier Press, 1953. 92 pp.
Contains a discussion on the origin of mental and spiritual disorders.

Zilboorg, G. *Mind, Medicine & Man.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943. 344 pp.
Discusses certain misconceptions concerning mental illnesses.

VI. Anxiety

Devlin, Wm., S.J. "Anxiety and abnormal fears in relation to Pastoral Psychology." *Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ., 1956 pp. 86-107.
Psychiatric aspects of anxiety and the types of abnormal fear are described in detail and some simple rules are given for the help of the untrained priest in recognizing and dealing with persons afflicted by such anxieties.

May, Rolo *The Meaning of Anxiety.* New York: Ronald, 1950. 376 pp.
This book, by a non-Catholic author, is an excellent over-all treatment of anxiety, considering it from its historical no less than from its psychological aspects.

Oliver, J. R. *Fear: The Autobiography of James Edwards.* New York: Macmillan, 1927. 366 pp.
This book written by a Protestant minister who was also a psychiatrist, contains a remarkably clear exposition of the development of fear and of the role played by religion in counteracting fear.

Schwartz, Charleen. *Neurotic Anxiety.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954. 120 pp.
This is a Catholic treatment of anxiety in which the author attempts to relate neurotic anxiety to the teaching of St. Thomas. This is a significant, though not entirely successful, attempt.

VII. Guilt

Bruno de Jesus-Marie, Pere, O.C.D. (Ed.) *Conflict and Light: Studies in Psychological Distrubance and Readjustment.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1952. 192 pp.
Thirteen essays on guilt, guilt feelings and spirituality.

Houselander, Caryll *Guilt.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1951, 279 pp.
This is more of a religious than a psychological book, but some of the references are valuable.

Samson, Henre, S.J. "Guilt—Real and Unreal." *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists.* April, 1953.
A brief article with some pertinent observations on guilt.

Stern, Karl *The Third Revolution.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1954. 306 pp.

This book is concerned in general with the applicability of the psychoanalytic method with the framework of the Christian religion. There is a good section on guilt and anxiety.

THREE JOINT SYMPOSIA, OF THE ACPA—APA MEETINGS OF 1957, 1958 & 1959. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1960. 207 pp.

The 1957 Symposium of the American Catholic Psychological Association dealt with Guilt and Guilt Feelings.

White, Victor, O.P. "Guilt: Theological and Psychological" pp. 155-76. In Mairet, P. (Ed.) *Christian Essays in Psychiatry.* London: SCM Press, 1956.

This is one paper in a symposium including 7 psychiatrists, 3 theologians and one educator.

Zilboorg, Gregory. "The Sense of Guilt" *Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1956. pp. 5-22.

Unconscious guilt is discussed and related to the problems regarding guilt feeling with which the pastor must deal.

VIII. Scrupulosity

Allers, R. *The Psychology of Character.* (Trans. by E. B. Strauss) New York: Sheed & Ward, 1939. 383 pp.

Casey, Dermot, S. J. *Nature and Treatment of Scruples.* Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1948. 66 pp.

This book has many excellent observations on scrupulosity. The soundness of the method of treatment may be questioned from a theoretical point of view, but in practice this method has helped many.

Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists. *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists.* Dec. 1957, Vol. 5. No. 2.

This issue contains three articles on scrupulosity by J. McCall, S.J., V. P. Mahoney, & J. D. Sullivan.

Mailloux, Noel, O.P. "The Problem of Scrupulosity in Pastoral Work." *Proceedings of the 1955 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. 1956. pp. 53-65.

The psychological dynamics of scruples are discussed in relation to pastoral concerns and pastoral treatment.

Mora, G. "The Psychotherapeutic Treatment of Scrupulous Patients." *Cross Currents.* 1957, 7 pp. 29-40.

The super-ego and conscience are entirely distinct, but there seems to be an undeniable connection between them, especially in the scrupulous.

Moore, T. V., O.S.B. *Personal Mental Hygiene.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1952. 331 pp.

Mullen, J. J. Psychological Factors in the Pastoral Treatment of Scruples. *Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry.* 1927, 1 (3). Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. Press.

Psychopathology of scrupulosity is discussed and some examples of scrupulosity in the lives of Therese of the Infant Jesus and others are examined.

Riffel, P. A., S.J. *The Detection of Scrupulosity and its Relation to Age and Sex.* Unpublished Master's dissertation. New York: Fordham University, 1958.

Weisner, W. M. & Riffel, P. A. "Religion and Obsessive Compulsive Behavior in Children." *Current Psychiatric Therapies. 1961 Vol. I.* (Ed.) Jules H. Masserman, New York: Grune & Stratton, 1961. pp. 39-42.

IX. Masturbation

Flood, Dom P., O.S.B. (Ed.) *New Problems in Medical Ethics Vol. I.* Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1952. 259 pp.

The first section of this book is a symposium of French priests and doctors who discuss the psychological, medical, and moral aspects of masturbation—emphasizing a positive approach to sex.

Ford, John C., S.J. "Problems in Autosexuality: Moral Aspects." *Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. 1858. pp. 199-214.

Fr. Ford provides some theological and psychological guideposts for judging the degree of freedom and consequent responsibility in masturbation. A list of criteria to help the confessor in judging moral guilt is included.

Hagmaier, Geo., C.S.P. & Gleason, Rbt., S.J. *Counseling the Catholic.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.

On pages 73-93 and pages 215-227 the problem of masturbation is discussed from a psychological and moral point of view.

Hayden, Jerome, O.S.B. "Theological and Psychiatric Aspects of Habitual Sin: II. Psychiatric Aspects." *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention.* New York: The Catholic Theological Society of America, 1956. 294 pp.

A priest-psychiatrist discusses the problem of habitual and particularly compulsive masturbation.

McCormick, Richard, S.J. "Adolescent Masturbation: A Pastoral Problem." *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review.* March 1960. V. 60 pp. 527-40.

Psychological aspects of the habit of masturbation are discussed for

the benefit of confessors. Remedies are suggested and deficiences in previously suggested remedies discussed. The importance of extra-confessional counseling is emphasized.

Von Gagern, Baron *The Problem of Onanism.* Cork: Mercier Press, 1955. 135 pp.

A discussion of the prevalent practice of self-abuse, its causes, its consequences in physical, psychological and spiritual terms; and its prevention and correction; together with illuminating notes on the morality of the practice.

X. Homosexuality

Anomaly *The Invert.* London, Bailliere, Tindall & Cox, 1948. 290 pp.

An anonymous Catholic with homosexual tendencies discusses this little understood problem and its psychology, with some practical advice on how to live with it.

Buckley, M. J. *Morality and the Homosexual: A Catholic Approach to a Moral Problem.* Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1959. 214 pp.

A discussion of current concepts and theories regarding the nature and causes of homosexuality.

Flood, Dom. P., O.S.B. (Ed.) *New Problems in Medical Ethics.* Vol I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1952. 259 pp.

The book contains a section on homosexuality and its treatment.

Gleason, Rbt., S.J. "Panel on Homosexuality: Moral Aspects." *Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. 1958. pp. 183-191.

The homosexual's subjective responsibility is discussed and the point is made that this sexual deviation is only secondarily a moral problem.

Hagmaier, Geo., C.S.P. "Panel on Homosexuality: Pastoral Counseling." *Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for the Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ., 1958. pp. 166-82.

Hagmaier, Geo., C.S.P. & Gleason, Rbt., S.J. *Counseling the Catholic.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.

On pages 94-112 and pages 228-238 the problem of homosexuality is discussed from a psychological and moral point of view.

XI. Alcohol Addiction

Bier, Wm. C., S.J. (Ed.) *Problems in Addiction: Alcohol & Drug Addiction.* New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1962. 248 pp.

The first part of this excellent book is on Alcohol Addiction and contains articles by Y. Gardner, R. J. Kennedy, S.J., T. J. Boyle, John C. Ford, S.J., J. M. Murtagh, R. J. Campbell, R. Fox, C. Sower, J. Hirsh, F. Lawrence, M.S.SS.T., A. Streeseman and J. Pasciutti covering the

areas of 1. General Problem of Alcoholism, 2. Background and Special Problems of Alcoholism and 3. Treatment and Prevention.

Clinebell, H. J. *Understanding and Counseling the. Alcoholic.* New York: Abingdon Press, 1956. 252 pp.
This book is written as an aid to the person who wishes to apply religious resources more effectively to the problem of alcoholism.

Duchene, H. Modern Possibilities of Treating Alcoholism, *New Problems in Medical Ethics.* Vol. IV. Dom P. Flood, O.S.B. (Ed.) Cork: Mercier Press, 1960. pp. 65-135.

Ford, John C., S.J. *Depth Psychology, Morality and Alcoholism.* Weston Mass.: Weston College Press, 1951. 88 pp.
The second part of this book is an essay on the moral responsibility of the alcoholic.

Ford, John C., S.J. *What About Your Drinking.* New York: Paulist Press, 1961. 128 pp.
This book is a discussion of the facts and principles of drinking.

Ford, John C., S.J. "Clerical Attitudes on Alcohol." *The Priest.* April, 1955. Vol. XI. pp. 838-43.
This article examines the many incorrect attitudes towards alcohol.

Ford, John C., S.J. & Kelly, Gerald. *Contemporary Moral Theology.* Vol. I. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958. 368 pp.
This book contains a chapter on Alcoholism and Subjective Imputability.

Hagmaier, Geo. & Gleason, Rbt., S.J. *Counseling the Catholic.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1959. 301 pp.
On pages 113-144 and on pages 239-246 the psychological and moral aspects of drinking are discussed.

Mann, Marty. *New Primer on Alcoholism.* New York: Rinehart, 1958.
A basic book on the subject.

National Clergy Conference on Alcoholism. P.O. Box 1194, Indianapolis 6, Indiana.
This organization specializes in helping priests deal professionally with drinking problems that come to their attention. The results of their annual meetings are published in THE BLUE BOOK available only to priests.

The Alcoholic Foundation. P.O. Box 459, Grand Central Annex, New York 17, N.Y.
This is the headquarters for Alcoholics Anonymous books and pamphlets and is the clearing house for their world-wide activities. One of the items obtainable from them is The Pastoral Counseling of the alcoholic: a kit for the busy priest.

Thomas, John L., S.J. "Factors in Marital Discord: Alcoholism and other factors." *Proceedings of the 1957 Institute for Clergy on Problems in Pastoral Psychology.* New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1958. pp. 45-51.

XII. Drug Addiction

Bier, Wm. C., S.J. (Ed.) *Problems in Addiction: Alcohol & Drug Addiction.* New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1962. 248 pp.

The second part of this excellent book is on Drug Addiction and contains articles by K. W. Chapman, R. J. Campbell, Eva Rosenfeld, A. M. Grennan, Rev. N. C. Eddy, H. Berger, R. Ganso, L. Brill, and J. M. Murtagh covering the areas of 1. Aspects of Drug Addiction, 2. Approaches to the Problem of Drug Addiction and 3. Treatment of Drug Addiction.

New York City Youth Board. *Reaching the Teen-age Addict.* 1961. 53 pp. Available from the Youth Board, 79 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

A Study of Street Club Work with a Group of Adolescent Users.

The Alcoholic and Drug Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario. 24 Harbord St., Toronto 5, Ontario.

This Foundation publishes a quarterly entitled Addictions and supplies materials and films.

XIII. Adolescent Development

Ausubel, David. *Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954.

The emotional life of the child is traced from infancy.

*Bier, Wm. C., S.J. (Ed.) *The Adolescent: His Search for Understanding.* New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1963. 246 pp.

Sexual adjustment, Juvenile delinquency, Emotional maturation and the Vocational choice of the adolescent are some of the topics handled by a group of experts. The results of their discussions in this excellent book highlight the all-important fact that adolescence is a time that cries for understanding.

*Burns, Charles. *Mental Health in Childhood.* Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1956. 94 pp.

This book is written for those who deal with deprived, delinquent and maladjusted children, in schools and institutions of all kinds.

Fleege, U. H. *The Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1945. 384 pp.

A book about boys and their problems.

Godin, A., S.J. "Faith and the Psychological Development of Children and Adolescents." *Lumen Vitae.* 1958. 13, pp. 297-311.
Affective disorders formed in the first years of life can inhibit the plenitude of faith.

Lewis, Eve. *Children and Their Religion.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1962. 316 pp.
By means of a study of the successive phases of childhood from babyhood to adolescence, the author is able to indicate just how healthy psychological development offers a prefabricated foundation for religious teaching and how disastrous the results if the natural pattern of the individual child's development is disregarded.

McCarthy, Raphael, S.J. *Training the Adolescent.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1937. 298 pp.
This book discusses the physical and sensory changes in the adolescent, his mental and physical growth and how to train him to become happy, useful and religiously successful.

Oraison, Marc. *Love or Constraint?* New York: Paulist Press, 1961. 160 pp.
This book discusses some psychological aspects of religious education.

Schneiders, A. A. *Personality Development and Adjustment in Adolescence.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1960. 473 pp.
This book covers all areas of adolescent personality and development and contains an extensive list of references.

Trese, Leo J. *Parent and Child.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. 186 pp.
The many problems of bringing up children are discussed in this little book.

Are We Giving the Spiritual Exercises as *Exercises?*

Donald Smythe, S.J.

In the first annotation of his famous book St. Ignatius explains that by "Spiritual Exercises" he means various "spiritual activities" and that these are analogous to such physical activities as "taking a walk, journeying on foot, and running."

He also states (in the second annotation) that the director should keep his points "short" and should not explain the meaning "at great length." The reason is that the retreatant must have time to reflect "for himself"; this will produce "greater spiritual relish and fruit" than if the director discoursed at length. "For it is not much knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but the intimate understanding and relish of the truth."

It is significant that St. Ignatius in explaining the Spiritual Exercises compares them to physical exercises. For what is most apparent in these latter is that, if they are to be of value, they must be actively engaged in. The person must *exercise.* Nothing else does any good.

Let a coach describe the rewards of exercise as he will, let him talk glowingly of the benefits to be derived from exercise in more attractive appearance, increased efficiency, better health, let him illustrate his talk with photographs and diagrams showing just what to do—until a person actually *does* it, it doesn't mean a thing.

This being true, what is the situation today regarding retreat work, regarding the Spiritual Exercises? Are they being given as exercises? Are the points short, as Ignatius directed? Are retreatants left time to reflect for themselves—or are they subjected to lengthy discourses? Are the points such that they are truly "directions for exercise"—or are they lectures, conferences, disquisitions on the spiritual life?

Each must answer for himself and from his own experience. But I suggest that a frank examination will reveal that points are often not what they ought to be, not what Ignatius had in mind when he directed that they be "short or summary."

What is one to think when a retreat master more or less consistently goes over the thirty minutes allotted for points? Or when the points are so long that the retreatants have comparatively little time to meditate? Or when the "directions of exercise" (which is what we mean, or ought to, by points) actually run longer than the time left for the exercise itself?

These are not hypothetical questions. I can recall points on the Passion once which ran about an hour; only about fifteen minutes was left for the actual meditation, for the actual exercise.

An extreme case? Yes. But the reader can undoubtedly recall similar isolated examples of such extremes. And, more important, he can substantiate the fact from his own experience that points often do go *very* long, that thirty minutes, far from being a maximum (as it was intended to be) has become a minimum. The director usually goes *at least* that; he often goes much more.

Coupled with long points is a false idea of the Spiritual Exercises as a series of conferences, sermons, pious reflections on the spiritual life, rather than a core of exercises designed to take off "flab" in much the same way as physical exercises do with the body. Significant is the remark with which a retreat master began his points once: "The theme of my *talk* is going to be this."

The upshot, I submit, is that, far more than is necessary, our retreatants are sitting passively listening to someone talk when they should be actively engaged (as Ignatius intended) reflecting on matters for themselves. In terms of the analogy of physical exercises, our retreatants are looking too much at a picture book on fitness and not doing enough running around the track.

And the fault is not theirs. They are being talked to excessively by directors who do not seem sufficiently to realize that the Spiritual Exercises are exercises. Not talks, not conferences, not homilies—*exercises*. The retreatants must have time to do them for themselves.

In 1955 a survey was taken of over 700 sisters in the United States, representing all ages, types of congregation (between thirty and fifty were polled), and kinds of work. Asked the question "What time length do you ordinarily prefer for a

meditation exposé?", a considerable majority (67%) voted for thirty minutes or under. In a blank space for comments, some of the respondents wrote as follows:

"It should give the sisters sufficient time to develop the ideas or points exposed. It is not up to the retreat master to make the retreat for the sisters."

"If the exposé is longer, it usually is due to poor organization or needless repetition."

"No matter how good the speaker, a long exposé tends to make listeners restless, especially in summer."

"Retreat masters seem to lack faith in sisters' power to meditate and weary them with too much talk. No energy left for meditation."

"There is a limit as to the amount one can take at one time."

"Our retreat meditations average 1½ hours. Were less time provided, I would want less than 30 minute exposé."

"I think usually some of the meditation lectures [!] are too long, thereby not providing enough time for reflection."[1]

These reactions were confirmed by responses I myself received from an informal query on the matter. "Twenty-five minutes seem the maximum for me," one nun wrote. "The forty-five minute lecture doesn't accomplish any more—just re-chews what I should be working out for myself."

A layman, veteran of a number of eight-day retreats, stated that "points are often not 'directions for exercise' but a lecture or conference on some point in the spiritual life." His letter ended with the remark: "I am looking forward to the day when a large number of laymen will make the Exercises on their own (with, of course, the help of their spiritual director). Perhaps retreat masters could aid in initiating such a trend by giving the Exercises in such a way as to leave the 'exercising' to the individual retreatant."

Another layman, a devout sodalist who has made three eight-day retreats, commented sadly on the non-Ignatian mentality of retreat masters. "It seems to be accepted procedure," he lamented, "that the retreat should be conducted as a platform for the ideas and ideals of the retreat master. Certainly every retreat master turns blue in the face telling, exhorting,

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[1] Thomas Dubay, S.M., "Sisters' Retreats—III," *Review for Religious*, XV (May, 1956), 128-29.

and even admonishing the retreatant to make the retreat himself and that the retreat will be useless if he doesn't. Then this same retreat master will, too often quite badly, ram the exercise down your throat for as long as one hour. Yes, one hour is not at all uncommon. In fact it is a rare retreat master who will stay consistently within the desired (for him) thirty minutes time limit."

Of the three eight-day retreats this sodalist made, only one retreat master "stayed within the time limit and offered points for meditation." In the other two "the points for meditation were not points at all but laborious lectures on an admittedly gratifying phase of the spiritual life." Granted they may have been good, "the point is that they were lectures where the thinking and much of the pondering was done for the retreatant by the retreat master."

In contrast, the one retreat master who conducted the Spiritual Exercises as exercises told his retreatants that his points were optional. If they didn't want to come to them, they needn't. If they preferred to meditate on a different subject than he suggested, that was their privilege. If they felt tired and needed an hour's sleep, they could take it and skip the points.

What impression did this make on the retreatants? It was "excellent." "The effect was that we realized that we were making the retreat and it was up to us to do the really hard work. The results, at least for me, were most gratifying and the retreat has had a lasting impact upon me."

As for the other two retreats, they "were a waste of time, energy, and money. You see, the result of getting a pious lecture is that you do little more than rehash the points the retreat master gave. Of course the results of this type of retreat are quite obviously negligible at best."

One of our Jesuit college graduates commented bitterly on extended points. Said he: "The eight-day retreat which is the best source, next to the Mass, of growth in the spiritual life, is being assassinated with pious platitudes and equally pious sermons. If somehow retreat masters could only realize that they are not necessary for the retreat but are there to help us fledglings along then maybe they would change their approach."

What could be done to remedy the situation? One writer

offered these suggestions for directors:

"1) Impress upon those who are making the retreat that they and not you are making the retreat and then practice what you preach.

"2) Never speak longer than 30 minutes and if possible cut it short.

"3) Challenge a retreatant's intellect as well as his emotions."

If retreat masters would practice these rules, he stated, "the retreat would be a spiritual exercise and not a mission. . . . I feel that . . . one hour for meditation is absolutely essential and I resent having this time cut to forty-five or thirty minutes by some pious lecture."

These remarks certainly reflect the mind of our Fathers General. "Points for Ours should not last more than half an hour . . . ," said Father Ledochowski in 1921. "This is so essential to the Spiritual Exercises that if it is neglected it is no longer the Ignatian Exercises which are given."[2] Writing again on the subject in 1935, he called for "an end of long discourses by which some tend more to destroy the Exercises of Ignatius than set them forth."[3]

Father Janssens in his letter on the Exercises in 1948 recommended "shorter points and . . . longer meditations."[4] "The Exercises are not given nor are they preached," he said; "they are made. It is essential that he who makes the Exercises should exert himself."[5] He decried "excessively long conferences" which are little more than "a series of sermons."[6] Therefore, "let the points, if they be explained or proposed, be brief. . . . Certainly, they should never take the place of the exercitant's own consideration nor abbreviate the time of intimate communication with God. . . ."[7]

This "time of intimate communication" meant for Ignatius sixty minutes. His directions for the exercitant in the twelfth annotation state: "He is to spend an hour in each of the five exercises or contemplations which are made every day. . . . Let him rather exceed an hour than not use the full time." Simi-

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[2] *Selected Writings of Father Ledochowski* (Chicago, 1945), p. 846.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 759.
[4] *On the Fourth Centenary of the Spiritual Exercises* (Woodstock, Md., 1949), p. 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 11. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

larly in numbers 253 and 254: "He should continue for an hour," "through the whole hour," "when the hour is over. . . ."

This, of course, is the ideal and, like all ideals, it cannot always be realized in every case. Father Ledochowski, when limiting points to a half hour for Ours, admitted that "this limit may be extended somewhat for seculars. . . ."[8]

In 1960 at John Carroll University the Leunnis Professional Sodality made an eight-day retreat in which instructions did not go beyond half an hour and for the big meditations were only fifteen minutes. "Mostly no points at all," was the way one person described the retreat, i.e., no formal orally delivered points. But the retreatants received continuous personal direction and also mimeographed sheets of directions for each exercise telling them what to do. These supplemented, or took the place of, formal points.

The reaction: For those who had made two or more eight-day retreats—excellent; for beginners, poor.[9]

The previous experience of retreatants, therefore, will determine the amount of time that points can be shortened. If they are beginners, with little or no backlog of material on which to feed their thoughts and affections, the retreat master must talk more to give them fuel for their prayer.

But certain retreatants are not beginners. These are the people who make eight-day retreats year after year: religious men and women, and certain laymen. It is they I have especially in mind, people who deserve shorter points so they might have more time for their own thoughts, more time to discover things "for themselves," as St. Ignatius says. With them I should think that points of fifteen minutes, rather than thirty (and certainly never longer than that!), would be the optimum.

One of the laymen who wrote me said: "People who have already made a number of retreats according to the Ignatian method can often ride pretty much on their own with merely a brief review of the points." If that is true of laymen, *a fortiori* it is true of religious, with years of prayer and reading behind them.

It now remains for retreat masters to recognize that fact.

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[8] *Selected Writings of Father Ledochowski*, p. 846.

[9] Letter of James J. McQuade, S.J., to the author, Sept. 22, 1961.

The Practice of Ignatian Representation

Robert E. Griffin, S.J.

In his *Letter on Obedience* St. Ignatius says a number of things about the perfection of obedience, not the least of which is the following:

> "One may obey for some time perhaps, under the common misunderstanding that obey we must even if commanded amiss. But such obedience cannot last, with the resulting failure in perseverance, or at least in *the perfection of obedience, which consists in obeying cheerfully and lovingly.* And there can be no love or cheerfulness as long as such a conflict exists between action and judgment." (n. 12, Italics added.)

The "beloved brethren" must have wished to know how they could acquire that obedience of the judgment wherein they could "stand by their promises not only cheerfully but even lovingly." St. Ignatius presents three means to this end.

The first is to see Christ in the person of the superior. Listen to the words of the superior when he commands you, as though they were the words of Christ himself. *The second* means is always to make a serious effort to defend in your own mind the mind and will of the superior. *The third and last* means of bringing the judgment into subjection is to accept whatever the superior commands as the command and will of God himself. (nn. 16, 17, 18.)

But having said this, St. Ignatius immediately adds:

> "But for all that, you are not forbidden to lay before your superior something that occurs to you and which seems to be at variance with his mind, and which you think ought to be called to his attention." (n. 19.)

Ignatius then inserts a caution against self-love vitiating the representation and admonishes the one who would represent to pray to the Lord first and to remain indifferent throughout the representation, so as not to seek to twist the

superior to his own will, and to be able to accept as best whatever decision the superior will finally make.

When you think about it, is it not a remarkable thing that Ignatius has brought up the subject of representation at all? He has just said clearly enough that the third and last means of arriving at obedience of the judgment is to accept the command of the superior blindly, promptly, unquestioningly, as from God himself. At first glance this would seem to preclude the legitimacy of allowing anything to occur to you which would even seem to be at variance with the superior's mind. How does representation fit into Ignatius' scheme of perfect obedience, when Ignatius has just said that the third is the last means? Or is it something only tolerated in the second-rate Jesuit who cannot measure up to the three means just presented? It is not easy to solve these apparent difficulties from the *Letter on Obedience* alone.

A glance at another letter which St. Ignatius wrote to a certain John Baptist Viola might shed some light on the matter. In this letter St. Ignatius says:

> "Obedience seeks to be blind in two ways; in the first it belongs to the inferior to submit his understanding when there is no question of sin and do what is commanded him; in the second it is also the inferior's duty, once the superior commands, or has commanded anything, to represent to the superior whatever considerations or disadvantages may occur to him, and do so humbly and simply, without any attempt to draw the superior to either side, *with the result that afterwards he will be able with peace of mind to follow the way that shall be pointed out to him or commanded.*" (Italics added.)[1]

Here, as in the *Letter on Obedience,* Ignatius first insists on obedience of the judgment. But here, Ignatius provides only a single means for obtaining it, representation; and does not include those three other means which he had spoken of in the *Letter on Obedience,* and which were in addition to representation. If representation did not stand out clearly in the *Letter on Obedience* as a means for obtaining perfect obedience, it does here in the letter to Viola. It is even given as a quasi-necessary means since Ignatius speaks of the inferior's duty to represent when obedience of the judgment is not present.

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[1] *Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola,* Selected and translated by William J. Young, S.J., Loyola University Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1959, p. 60.

At least this seems to be the most natural interpretation, given the context.

And notice too, the reason our holy Father gives for this representation: "with the result that afterwards he (the inferior) will be able *with peace of mind* to follow the way that shall be pointed out to him or commanded." This *peace of mind* is very close to, if not the same as, that *cheerfulness and love* in which the *Letter on Obedience* says the perfection of obedience consists.

If it is true then, that in the mind of Ignatius representation is a genuine means for acquiring perfect obedience, why was he so jejune and circumspect in his treatment of it in the *Letter on Obedience*? Perhaps this can be explained from the historical circumstances surrounding that letter. It was written to the Jesuits of Portugal, who, under the difficult Simon Rodriguez, were having real problems with obedience and showed a liberty of action which Ignatius considered foreign to the spirit of the Society. What the Portuguese Jesuits needed in these circumstances was a forthright statement from Ignatius on the perfection of obedience and the real supernatural character and outlook needed for its practice. This is what Ignatius gave them, emphasizing the necessity of striving for submission of mind and heart to the mind and heart of the superior, the one who represents for them Christ Himself. The *Letter on Obedience* stresses what Ignatius thought needed stressing. Quite naturally, the topic of representation did not require the same elaboration as other points, given the situation in Portugal. St. Ignatius did not, however, pass over in silence the notion of representation. He did not deprive even the Portuguese Jesuits of this doctrine. He simply did not give it much emphasis.

In Ignatius' letter to John Baptist Viola we have seen that he speaks of representation as a means for arriving at obedience of the judgment. Is there any more evidence in Ignatius' writings which might further indicate the importance he attached to representation? Very definitely there is.

A letter written by our holy founder on *The Method of Dealing with Superiors* deserves some attention. Apparently little is known about its historical circumstances, other than that it was written approximately two years after the *Letter on Obe-*

dience and was sent to the colleges and houses of Spain and Sicily. Could it be that the purpose of this letter was to correct a too rigorous interpretation of the *Letter on Obedience* given two years earlier? We do not know. But we do know that *The Method of Dealing with Superiors* is a much fuller treatment of representation than that given in the *Letter on Obedience* and stresses the actual practice of representing. Practically the whole letter is devoted to the topic of representation.

The Method of Dealing with Superiors

"1. He who has business with a superior should have the matter well in hand, arranged in order and thought out by himself or others, in keeping with the greater or lesser importance of the matter. In smaller matters, however, or when there is need of hurry and no time is available for study or conferring, it is left to his own judgment as to whether he should represent the matter to the superior or not, if he has not been able to confer with others or study the matter himself.

"2. After he has examined and studied his proposals, he should place them before the superior, and tell him that this point has been examined by himself or with others as the case may be. He should give the superior the results of his examination and study, but he should never say to a superior in discussing a point with him, 'this or that is right, or this or that will be,' but he should speak conditionally and with a certain amount of reserve.

"3. Once he has proposed the matter to the superior, it will be the superior's duty to make a decision, or wait for further study, or refer the proposals back to those who submitted them, or name others to examine them, or make the decision then and there, according to the nature of the difficulty involved.

"4. If I point out some drawback in the decision of the superior, or the superior reaffirms his decision, there should be no answer or discussion for the time being.

"5. But if, after the decision of the superior, he who is dealing with him sees that something else would be better, let him call the superior's attention to it, adding his reason. And even if the superior had withheld judgment, this may be done after three or four hours, or a day. He could then represent to the superior what he thinks would be good, preserving, however, a manner of speaking and using such words that there would neither be nor appear to be any dissension or altercation. He should then accept in silence what is then and there decided.

"6. But even supposing that a decisive answer was given the first time, or even the second, he might a month or more later, represent his view in the manner already indicated. For time and experience uncover many things, and the superior himself may change his mind.

"7. He who deals with a superior should accommodate himself to the character and abilities of the superior. He should speak distinctly and so that he can be heard, clearly, and whenever possible at an hour that is suited to the superior's convenience . . ."[2]

We have now seen three approaches to the topic of representation. In all three Ignatius follows the same pattern, but gives a different tone to each. In the *Letter on Obedience*, Ignatius first explains blind obedience and then states his doctrine on representation, with the condition about using it correctly. The emphasis is all on the supernatural outlook involved. Representation is not excluded, but is exposed very conservatively. In the *Letter to John Baptist Viola* we have the same general context, but with less explicit reference to the necessity of supernatural outlook. There is the statement on representation, and the caution about its proper use following it. With regard to representation the tone is more liberal than in the former letter. In the *Letter on the Method of Dealing with Superiors* we have again the same general context, but rather presupposed than stated explicitly. There is a very detailed account of the procedure for representing, and the caution about using it with indifference is inserted within the body of the exposition. The emphasis here is clearly on the actual practice of representation. The tone is one of freedom, liberality, and expansiveness. If we take all three of these letters together, we find that they nicely complement one another.

Representation must surely have been valued by St. Ignatius or he would not have treated of it in the way he did. He surely did not intend representation to be the solution to every problem with obedience; it is only a means to the perfection of obedience, and not the only means, at that. St. Ignatius knew as well as we do that representation can be a dangerous thing, not because it is evil in itself, but because, like a delicately poised work of art, it can be damaged by rough handling. It

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[2] M.H.S.I., Ignatius, IX, Letter 5400a. Translation taken from Young, op. cit., pp. 390-391.

can be misunderstood and misapplied, making a caricature of true obedience. But on the other hand, it can just as well be rightly used for the greater honor and glory of God. If this were not so, our holy Father would not have brought the subject up, especially to the Jesuits of Portugal with their propensity to self-determination.

In the light of St. Ignatius' letters to John Baptist Viola and on *The Method of Dealing with Superiors,* we might ask if representation has been given its due worth in our thinking and acting? Cheerful, loving obedience, with peace of mind, is a worthy goal. Representation is a genuine Ignatian means to this end. If we stop short with its presentation in the *Letter on Obedience,* we might come to look upon it as something to be feared as too fraught with dangers. Ignatius' letter to John Baptist Viola and the letter on *The Method of Dealing with Superiors* seem to indicate otherwise.

Hotel Champlain-Bellarmine College

Leonard R. Riforgiato, S.J.

On wooded Bluff Point overlooking beautiful Lake Champlain stands Bellarmine College, the novitiate and juniorate for the Buffalo Province of the Society of Jesus. Its site is steeped in history. Isaac Jogues sailed past these same shores on his way to eventual martyrdom in service to the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. In 1776 one of the most important battles of the Revolutionary War was fought off Valcour Island, directly in front of Bellarmine's beach. The British had devised a plan to capture the vital Hudson River Valley, thus splitting New England from the rest of the colonies and, almost certainly, dooming the American cause to defeat. In the Fall of 1776, therefore, a British fleet under "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne began to move down Lake Champlain. After securing the Lake, Burgoyne was to disembark his troops and march down to Albany where he would join forces with another army under General Howe who would march upstate from New York City. The two commanders would then subdue Fort Ticonderoga and thus gain complete control of the Hudson Valley. Benedict Arnold, realizing the great danger posed by the British plan, hastily built a small "Mosquito Fleet" on Lake Champlain, composed of anything that could float. On October 11 and October 13, 1776 Arnold's little fleet engaged the British off Valcour Island. Though he was soundly defeated, Arnold succeeded in delaying the British advance. With winter coming on, Burgoyne retired to Canada. The British plan had failed.[1]

Sometime between 1952 and 1955, when Bellarmine was a Philosophate, the Scholastics discovered the ruins of a small Revolutionary War cabin on a small beach below the jetty of Bluff Point. The settlement, as dated by coins, English pottery, shot, and Indian arrowheads, probably comes from the

[1] John Richard Alden, *The American Revolution 1775-1783* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 104; see also Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pagent* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1956), pp. 112-113.

period 1775/6, around the time of the Battle of Valcour Island. The site seems to have been in use down to about 1850. A Roman coin dating from the year 345 A.D. was also found in the cabin. It was probably used as a talisman or good luck charm by one of the soldiers who were stationed there. The excavations suggest that the place was used as a look-out post to report on the water traffic between Valcour Island and the shore.[2]

In 1814 American and British once more clashed on the blue Champlain waters off Bellarmine beach as Commodore Thomas Macdonough, commander of the United States fleet, defeated a superior foe at the Battle of Plattsburgh, one of the most important engagements in the War of 1812.[3]

The novitiate building itself also has fascinating history. The Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company had long been active in northern New York State. Its main line ran through the heart of the North Country, along Champlain's shores. Moreover, in 1871, the Delaware and Hudson acquired the Champlain Transportation Company, the oldest steamboat company in America, which operated between New York and Vermont.[4] Now the railroad possessed extensive, almost exclusive control of transportation in the North Country. The problem it then had to face was getting people to transport to that area. The company solved this difficulty by conducting a tourist campaign, booming the North Country as a Summer Paradise. Given the majestic beauty of its mountains, lakes and forests, the task did not prove hard.

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[2] Information on the excavation supplied by Fr. Herbert Musurillo, S.J., personal interview.

[3] Confer New York State Commission: Plattsburgh Centenary, *The Battle of Plattsburgh: What Historians Say About It* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1914).

[4] The steamboat was first successfully tested in 1807 when Robert Fulton ran the *Claremont* from New York to Albany. Six years later the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company was chartered by the New York State Legislature to run ferries from New York to Vermont. It thus became the nation's first steamboat company. On October 26, 1826 the Champlain Transportation Company was founded. In 1830 the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company was sold to the Champlain Transportation Company. In 1868 the Champlain Transportation Company acquired the Lake George Steamboat Company. In 1871 the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company bought the Champlain Transportation Company. Confer the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company, *A Century of Progress: History of the Delaware and Hudson Company 1823-1923* (Albany, J. B. Lyon Co., 1935), pp. 703-723.

In October, 1888, the Delaware and Hudson acquired the Bluff Point property and began construction on the Hotel Champlain. Owned by the "Bluff Point Land Improvement Company," a subsidiary of the Delaware and Hudson, the Hotel was designed to lure tourists to Northern New York lands serviced by the railroad. The Hotel property covered some 1,000 acres, including a tree nursery operated by another Delaware and Hudson subsidiary, "The Northern New York Development Company." Trees from this nursery were transplanted to railroad woodlands property in the Adirondacks.

Formal Opening

On June 17, 1890, the Hotel Champlain was formally opened for the first time. The Hotel building was a large, rambling, white and grey wooden affair built in the grand Victorian style. Built directly on a solid rock shelf which underlies the entire property, the building had no need of a foundation. It was 400 feet long, 75 feet wide, with three towers, the center one rising 125 feet from the ground. The main section of the building, exclusive of the towers, was five stories high. The two smaller towers rose an additional two stories, the center tower five more.[5] Surrounded on three sides by a wide, second-story veranda, the 500-room Hotel stood atop a high bluff overlooking the Lake.

The grounds were as sumptuous as the Hotel itself. Ten miles of beautiful wooded drives rambled over the property, including the "Green Drive," a picturesque bridlepath which encircled the grounds. Riding horses were provided by the Hotel's own livery stables which were added in 1895. They were situated across Route 6, next to the old Bluff Point Railroad Station.[6] The ruins of both buildings may still be seen.

Bluff Point Promontory was exceedingly beautiful, rising 200 feet above sea level. Below it lay the "Beach of the Singing Sands," a natural white sand beach which was, and still is, replenished every year. A beach house and boat house

[5] Troy Times Printing-House, *The Past and Present of Plattsburgh* (Troy: Troy Times Printing House, 1891), p. 20.

[6] The Bluff Point Railroad Station, abandoned by the Delaware and Hudson, was converted into the Philosopher's villa house. Just after work of conversion had been completed, the day, indeed, before the grand opening, the villa burned to the ground in October 1953.

provided adequate aquatic facilities. At the edge of the beach lay a large steamboat dock topped by a terminal building. From this pier the steamers "Vermont," "Ticonderoga," and "Chateaugay" of the Champlain Transportation Company carried guests to and from the Hotel. Each steamer was equipped with staterooms and was renowned for its dining service. The Hotel sponsored a very popular trip at that time. People would sail from New York City to Albany by steamboat during the night. Next morning they would transfer to a special Delaware and Hudson boat train which brought them to Lake George. There the passengers boarded the steamers of the Lake George Steamboat Company, still another Delaware and Hudson subsidiary, for the trip down Lake George to Baldwin, New York. At Baldwin another Delaware and Hudson train brought them to Montcalm Landing or Fort Ticonderoga, both on Lake Champlain, where they boarded Lake steamers for the Hotel. Stops included Crown Point, Port Henry, Westport, Port Kent (now the summer villa of the Buffalo and New York Provinces), and Plattsburgh. The trip could also be made in reverse.[7]

By far the most noteworthy feature of the Hotel was its 18 hole golf course, the third to be constructed in America and the very first Hotel or public course. First built in 1870, it was later reconstructed several times by America's leading golf architects, including Tillinghast, Walter Travis, and George Low.[8] Nestled on the shores of Champlain, between the Green Mountains and the Adirondacks, the course was regarded as one of America's best. Difficult, (par 72), and well laid out, it was, and still is, one of the most beautiful in the country. It had many distinguished pros including George Low, Pat Doyle, Chris Shay, and Gene McCarthy, and hosted many tournaments including the National Golf Tournament in 1911.[9] Since the entire property is situated on rock, all the top soil on the course had to be trucked in, a difficult matter in those days. The course still exists in excellent condition today along with a sprawling clubhouse, "the Nineteenth Hole,"

[7] Letter from Mr. Bertrand T. Fay, Public Relations Consultant for the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company, June 13, 1961.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Plattsburgh Daily Press*, June 30, 1911.

and Caddy House. Bellarmine now uses only nine holes, allowing the Plattsburgh Country Club to use the other nine as a private golf course.

Golfing enthusiasts among the Hotel's guests were able to warm up before tackling the large course by playing a nine hole pitch and putt or "Court Golf Course" which was situated on the main grounds near the Hotel building. Built at the same time as the main golf course, it preceded by many years the miniature courses so popular today and may be called the granddaddy of them all.[10]

Besides the 500-room main building the Hotel property contained eleven cottages, nine of which were leased out to families for the summer season. Seven of these were built at the time of the main building in 1890: Champlain, Bluffs (since destroyed—its ruins may still be seen behind Our Lady's statue at Bellarmine), Pines, McKinley, Grandview, and two cottages for the help, Bowling Alley (now called Ticonderoga) and a second whose original name is unknown. It was called Skunk Hollow until torn down in the Winter of 1961-1962. Four others, Twin Gables (also destroyed in Winter 1961-1962), West Cottage, the Bungalow (now called the Round House), and Woodlawn were constructed later. Many famous personages occupied these cottages. The Bungalow, an octagonal shaped house, was rented by the wife and family of a President of Cuba for several seasons.[11] Repairs were made on the cottages in 1960 and 1961 and they are still in good shape. The Bungalow now serves as the Novices' Villa House. Ticonderoga and West Cottage are used for storage. Woodlawn, Champlain, Pines, McKinley, and Grandview house priests making retreats at Bellarmine in the summer and serve as Summer villa houses for the Juniors.

Recognized as a first rate hostelry by, among others, Karl Baedeker himself, the Hotel was an immediate success.[12] The

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[10] Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Karl Baedeker, *The United States: With Excursions to Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Alaska* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, Publisher, 1909), p. 126. "On (79M.) *Bluff Point* (1.), 3M. beyond Valcour, stands the luxurious and magnificently situated *HOTEL CHAMPLAIN (200 ft.; from $5), commanding views of the Adirondacks, Lake Champlain, and the Green Mts. Its grounds, 450 acres in extent, include a golf-course." NOTE: Mr. Baedeker was mistaken on the amount of land belonging

social elite flocked to it for summer sports and social life. It was even mentioned in *Gone With The Wind*, Margaret Mitchell's best selling novel about the Civil War. Sometime after 1890 and before 1897, an annex was added to the east side of the main building to accomodate the ever growing number of patrons.

President McKinley

Many famous people frequented the Hotel. Perhaps its most famous guest was William McKinley, the President of the United States, who made the Hotel his summer White House from July 29-August 20, 1897, and from July 27-August 25, 1899. The clear summer air and sunshine would, it was hoped, be beneficial to Mrs. McKinley who suffered from epilepsy.[13]

Both summers were spent by the President in a seven room suite on the second floor in the southwest corner of the Hotel annex, commanding a view of the southern sweep of the Lake and the Adirondacks to the west.[14] McKinley, a retiring man by nature, took great pleasure in strolling around the Hotel grounds. Though she made occasional carriage trips to Plattsburgh and environs with her husband, for the most part the First Lady remained in her rooms. The President made a great impression on the guests by his folksy, hometown attitude. He signed the register as simply "William McKinley and wife, Canton, Ohio" and ordered the management to dismantle a special partition that had been erected for him on the Hotel veranda.[15]

On both visits McKinley and his party toured the neighboring Summer School of Catholic Action at Cliff Haven. The first time he was escorted by Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York, Bishop Henry Gabriels of Ogdensburg, and Vicar-General Thomas E. Walsh, also of Ogdensburg. The second time he was greeted by Rev. Michael J. Lavelle, the President of the Summer School which had been founded in

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to the Hotel.

[13] Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York: Harper and Co., 1959), pp. 460-461.

[14] *Plattsburgh Daily Press*, July 30, 1897.

[15] *Ibid.*

1892.[16] During the early part of August, 1899, Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate to the United States (1896-1902) and later Cardinal resided at the Summer School. There is no evidence, however, that the Apostolic Delegate ever met the President. McKinley also became the first President to visit the grave of the Abolitionist, John Brown, at Lake Placid.[17]

Though most of the Cabinet and Vice-President Garret A. Hobart arrived at the Hotel at some time or another, the President's two stays were primarily ones of rest. He enjoyed his visits immensely. A favorite resting place of his was under the "McKinley Pine Tree" located on the Green Drive near the golf clubhouse. Here the President would sit and read for hours. Many pictures exist showing McKinley seated there, though I have been unable to obtain one. Legend has it that the pine tree was struck by lightning the same year McKinley was assassinated.[18] The Hotel erected a plaque near the remaining tree trunk. The trunk still exists today though the bronze plaque has long since been pried loose from its concrete base.

President McKinley had many contacts with houses later to belong to the Society of Jesus. The Hotel Champlain, his summer White House, became Bellarmine College. He and his wife stayed at the Lenox estate of Mr. and Mrs. John Sloane, an estate which would one day become Cranwell Preparatory School, a boy's school conducted by the Jesuit Fathers of the New England Province.[19] The head butler, Auguste

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[16] *Ibid.*, August 11, 189 and August 16, 1899.

[17] *Ibid.*, August 12, 1897.

[18] Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.

[19] The property on which Cranwell Prep now stands once belonged to Henry Ward Beecher. He built a summer house on it in 1853 and there wrote his famous *Star Papers*. General John F. Rathbone later acquired the estate and named it "Wyndhurst." After a brief occupancy by the gressman and rug manufacturer from New York, bought the manor noted newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer, Mr. John Sloane, ex-conhouse in the early 1890's. The estate was purchased by Mr. Howard Cole in 1926 and converted into the Wyndhurst Club. In 1939, Mr. Edward Cranwell foreclosed the mortgage which he held on the club and, after an unsuccessful attempt at operating the establishment, deeded to the Fathers of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus one half of the property, with all furnishings and equipment, for a preparatory school for boys. The property was deeded to the Society on May 27, 1939 and later became Cranwell Prep. A tree planted by President McKinley when the estate belonged to John Sloane, still stands

Chollet, decided to surprise the distinguished guests.

> Asked to prepare a suitable patriotic display, he had secretly completed an ingenious arrangement, which involved boring a hole through the Sloane's dining-room floor and threading it with a piece of string attached to the mechanism of a large clock in the cellar. When the President and Mrs. McKinley led the way into the dining room, followed by the Sloanes and thirty or forty other guests, they saw a huge mound, covered by a silken flag, in the center of the long, resplendent table. The suspense was prolonged while the ladies and gentlemen found their places, and a bishop said grace. Then Auguste flipped off the flag, and disclosed a stuffed American eagle, which at once began to move, bobbing its head and flapping its wings in a jerky but lifelike fashion. Much to the amusement of Jim Barnes, the son of Auguste's regular employer, the bird seemed to be nodding and winking at Mrs. McKinley, whose chair it directly faced. She stumbled in terror to her feet, without her husband's arm to grasp, for the Sloanes knew so little of her habits that she had not been seated beside the President. He hurried to her side, and supported her from the room, while Auguste's masterpiece was snatched from the table and deposited on the lawn in disgrace.[20]

In 1901 a crazed assassin, Leon Czolgosz, shot the President while attending a reception at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. McKinley was rushed to the house of John G. Milburn, the President of the Exposition, where he died several days later. The Milburn Mansion was eventually bought by the Society and served as the faculty residence Canisius High School until demolished in 1958.

Suddenly, on May 26, 1910, the Hotel burned to the ground. The fire was discovered by Miss Mary Gill, the housekeeper, at 1:00 A.M. Since the Hotel had not yet opened for the summer season there were only sixty employees in the building at the time. All escaped uninjured. The loss to the Delaware and Hudson was estimated at $300,000—quite a sum in those days. The Hotel had been insured for $233,000. The cause of the fire was never discovered although it is most commonly thought that a stray bolt of lightning struck the building.[21]

The Fort William Henry Hotel in Lake George, also owned by the Delaware and Hudson, had burned down the previous

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on the property. Confer James A. Walsh, S.J., "Cranwell Preparatory School," *Woodstock Letters*, Lxix (1940), pp. 187-195.

[20] Leech, p. 440.

[21] *Plattsburgh Daily Press*, May 26, 1910.

year on June 24, 1909. Wishing to rebuild the Champlain with the least possible delay, the company took the nearly completed plans for the new Fort William Henry and used them for the new Champlain. The building was much smaller than the one it replaced and the management found it difficult to make the Hotel pay a profit with its reduced size. The Fort William Henry was eventually rebuilt on an even smaller scale than the new Champlain.[22]

Construction on the new Hotel Champlain began immediately. Meanwhile a summer colony opened for the 1910 season in the cottages which had not been damaged by the fire. The Bungalow served as a central dining hall. The cottage colony was a great success.[23]

The New Hotel

On July 1, 1911, the new Hotel Champlain, built at a cost of $300,000, opened to the public. The building was five stories high, lacked towers, and covered the original site of the old Hotel except for the area where the Annex had stood. The walls of the new building above the ground floor were of hollow tile as was the roof. The framework was structural steel. As little wood as possible was used in construction making the Hotel practically fireproof.[24]

On the ground floor was a large foyer, a ladies reception room, a lakeside grotto along the east front, officers' dining room, barber shop, storekeeper's office, help's dining room, grill, cocktail lounge, children's dining room, and forty other rooms for storage and apartments.

Wide verandas extended along both the east and west front of the second floor. Here were located the main dining room, ball room (now the House Chapel), parlors, foyer, offices, and kitchen, together with twenty-five other rooms.

The third floor contained about fifty large private rooms; the fourth and fifth floors were also devoted to private rooms of slightly smaller dimensions.

Furnished in the style of Louis XVI, the building measured 324 x 47 feet and contained about 200 living rooms, all richly decorated with furniture of solid mahogany upholstered in

[22] Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.
[23] *Plattsburgh Daily Press*, May 31, 1910.
[24] *Ibid.*, August 22, 1910.

velvet. As its predecessor, the Hotel had its own water pumping station. A fifty car garage erected near the Railroad Station gave testimony to the increasingly important role played by the automobile in American life.[25]

One particularly novel innovation of the new Hotel was the addition of private baths. Unfortunately the management did not go far enough in this direction. The usual arrangement was a bath between every two rooms making it a major headache to assign a private room and bath.[26]

The new Hotel attracted as many famous visitors as had the old. Among them were: William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, Theodore Roosevelt, Al Smith (a regular visitor), Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston, Lord Beaverbrook, and Babe Ruth.[27] There is a legend that when the Babe was at the Hotel during the twenties he knocked a golf ball from the first tee, over the green into the Lake beyond, a mighty 600 yard blast.

Marion Davies, the sweetheart of William Randolph Hearst, also resided at the Hotel. In the 1920's she starred in a major feature motion picture, "Janice Meredith" which was filmed on the Hotel grounds. The picture involved a Revolutionary War story and the troops of the 26th Infantry, then stationed at Plattsburgh Barracks, garbed in the uniform of the Revolutionary period, participated in the battle scenes. Washington "crossed the Delaware" on the Saranac River, just west of Plattsburgh, and endured his Valley Forge suffering on the Court Golf Course. A propeller driven by an airplane motor was used to create blizzards of paper snow.[28]

Hotel Champlain even made the comic strips. Bud Fisher was stationed at the Plattsburgh Barracks for a time as a civilian volunteer, and while there had Mutt and Jeff attend the camp as trainees. Naturally they spend most of their time goldbricking in the Hotel Champlain Bar Room.[29]

In 1915 General Leonard Wood opened the first of the "Plattsburgh Schools" at Plattsburgh Barracks. This was a business man's camp where civilian volunteers could receive

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[25] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1911.
[26] Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*

basic military training and thus do their part for America's Preparedness campaign. The roster of the Plattsburgh camp sounded like a combination of "Who's Who" and "The Social Register." Among the more famous names were, the sons of Theodore Roosevelt, Richard Harding Davis, novelist and playwright; Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State (Jan. 27-March 6, 1909) and Ambassador to France (1909-1912); John Purroy Mitchel, the young reform Mayor of New York and Arthur Woods, his Police Commissioner; George Wharton Pepper, future Senator from Pennsylvania; Dudley Field Malone, the liberal New York lawyer who assisted Clarence Darrow at the Scopes Trial; Raynal Cawthorne, General Counsel of U.S. Steel; along with the Chanlers of Dutchess County, the Fishes and the Milburns.[30] Quite a few of these Socialites would rent rooms for the season at the Hotel just to occupy them on Saturday night. Needless to say, night life was quite gay at the Hotel at that time. Uniforms were everywhere and the crack bands of the 15th, 30th and 26th Infantry, then stationed at Plattsburgh Barracks, used to give romantic moonlight concerts on the Hotel lawn.[31]

The days of the railroad hotels, however, were now passing. America was a mobile land on wheels. No longer was it the custom to spend a whole summer stationary at a hotel. Travel was all the vogue. Moreover, new vacationlands like Florida, California, the Caribbean, and even Europe were drawing more and more customers away from the Champlain. Faced with steadily dwindling profits, the Delaware and Hudson sold the Hotel to Mr. Mailman of Montreal in 1939. Mailman owned the Pal Razor Blade factory in Plattsburgh along with other extensive interests. He spent a great deal of money redecorating the Hotel, acquiring much of the furniture from the ill-starred S.S. Normandie. The beautiful Cabana Club on the Beach of the Singing Sands was constructed at this time. Unfortunately, the cabanas were actually built on sand and most of them have since collapsed or have been torn down.

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[30] Confer Cyril Falls, *The Great War 1914-1918* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1959), p. 357.; Walter Millis, *Road To War* (London: Faber & Faber, ltd., 1935), p. 210.; Mark Sullivan *Our Times: The United States 1900-1925: Vol. V; Over Here 1914-1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 215-218.

[31] Fay to Riforgiato, June 13, 1961.

Each Cabana room was equipped with a shower. A refreshment stand and bar graced the Cabana boardwalk. For a time the Hotel Champlain prospered again.

Time was running out, however, for the Champlain. On July 2, 1951, the New York Province of the Society of Jesus purchased the Hotel. Rechristened Bellarmine College, the Champlain served as a temporary Philosophate until Loyola Seminary was opened in Shrub Oak, N.Y. in 1955. Bellarmine then became the second novitiate of the New York Province. When the Buffalo Province was erected in 1960, Bellarmine became its novitiate.

Mr. Bertrand T. Fay, the Advertising Agent for the Delaware and Hudson, who was closely associated with the Hotel from 1916-1939 wrote about this transformation of the Champlain from a hotel to a Seminary:

> I have been telling my friends that the Jesuits are not only the most famous teaching order in the Church, but that I am sure they are also destined to become the Church's greatest golfers if your young seminarians take advantage of the Bluff Point golf course. Who can deny that there is plenty of room to save souls even on a golf course?
>
> I have always been deeply attached to Bluff Point and Lake Champlain and have considered it one of the most beautiful spots in America.
>
> I can't think of a more inspiring location for a Seminary surrounded as it is with God's beautiful handiwork. I have been delighted that this beautiful place is now being used in the service of God.[32]

Over seventy years have passed since the first Hotel Champlain opened its doors to the public. Now, still standing, the doors remain open in service of God.

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[32] *Ibid.*

African Easter Retreat

David Knight, S.J.

We began the vigil of Palm Sunday with an eight-day Retreat for the seventeen who were to be baptized, plus some schoolboys we would baptize in June: twenty men and boys in all, with eleven women—three with infants at the breast or hanging to their skirts, and one man totally blind. They all arrived Saturday night, and we meditated on creation. They acted it out: the animals coming on all fours before Adam to receive a name, none "a companion fit for man,"—and so, woman; Eve drawn from Adam's rib (the same nature as he), given to be his companion and equal. Man then raises his eyes to pray, the only animal on the face of the earth who prays to God. Lesson: the significance and dignity of prayer.

We made the meditation outdoors, in front of the church, and then all retired in silence to sleep on their straw mats under the stars. A retreat here is a relatively simple affair; each brings his mat, his blanket if he has one, and enough millet flour for eight days (plus dried fish, peppers, or whatever else may be necessary for cooking). At meal time, the women prepare the "boule" as usual. The mission announced that we could supply nothing at all, and by and large we kept the resolution, except for the six catechists who came to help with the retreat. These we supplied with rice or manioc. And the wife of one (whom Maurice [Pere Maurice Fournier, S.J.—Scholastic from Med. France Province] nicknamed "the priestess Anna" for the way she participated in the ceremonies), there to chaperone the girls, cooked for them and us.

The aim of the Retreat was to relive the mysteries we meditated on. Abstract meditation is difficult enough for anyone, and perhaps more so for people who are not used to

reading and the type of reflection we call "intellectual." But the Tchadians have a talent for skits—in a few moments they can put on a pantomime or a dramatization, and haven't the slightest timidity about acting. So we decided to make our meditations "in the round" as well as in private.

Sunday morning (as every morning) we rose at 5:30 with the sun, and Maurice gathered them all together in silence to reconsider creation with the rising of the sun. Then each went into the bush alone to meditate, while I prepared the Palm Sunday Mass and heard confessions. The Palm Sunday gospel was a good introduction to the Retreat: Christ is not received with joy into the heart at Baptism to be crucified anew by sin a week later. And we received Christ into the village with joy, waving branches, singing, and walking in procession into the church as the liturgy directs. (On Good Friday we would follow the same path for the stations of the cross.)

After Mass the retreatants gathered in a shady spot behind the church—the Garden of Eden—and the mission served them all mangos, as God provided food and fruit in the Garden. We described man's happy condition in the Garden before the Fall, and put on a skit of the Sin of the Angels: all the catechists resplendent in white albs, Lucifer rebelling against God, a heated discourse in Ngama by St. Michael the Archangel, culminating in the phrase which gave Michael his name: "Nan ke titi Ala wa?"—"Who is like unto God?", and the rebel angels were all stripped of their white robes and driven into Hell—a circle of fire prepared the evening before with the dried grass that littered the church grounds. From Hell, Satan came out to tempt Eve—a girl from the retreatants—and one by one we followed her and Adam to the forbidden tree and sinned against God.

Upon sin follows the judgment of God: expulsion from the Garden, sickness, misery, death. We would cultivate our fields in the sweat of our brows and struggle against temptation all our days. Our women would give birth in pain. And as a sign of our bondage to sin, Satan and his band came and bound a cord around each one's wrist and ankle, which they would bear until the promised Saviour came. We were not, like the angels, punished irrevocably for our first sin; but the

exile of our punishment was also the time of mercy and repentance. In couples, like Adam and Eve, we were driven from the Garden after Michael had announced the sentence of God upon us. The retreatants picked up their belongings, mats and food and cooking things, put them on their heads, and we marched off into the bush with Satan and the rebel angels driving us on, and enforcing the silence of the retreat. Behind us in the Garden stood the cross God had promised, and during our exile it would stand in the background of our camp, symbol of hope.

Our first camp was about two miles away from the mission. The retreatants arrived before Maurice and I could pack the pick-up and follow (over a road the catechumens had hacked out, more or less, a few days before). We decided to cross the "marigot," a swamp-like creek that flows(?) all the year round, and make camp on the other side. The water came up to the waist, and the whole camp crossed over, baggage on heads, to clear out a spot in sweat and silence on the other side. We kept reminding the retreatants that they were exiled from the Garden of God, slaves of the devil under the yoke of sin. I had hit a stump with the pick-up truck, and knocked the arm of the starter out of place; but even when we got under the truck and manipulated it by hand, the motor wouldn't do more than start and die. So we just left the truck where it was; it would have had to stay on the other side of the creek anyway, and the difference was only a hundred yards or so. . . . The camp was well chosen: gnats tormented us in swarms until nightfall, and the contrast was marked between the Garden of our Father and the land of exile under the devil.

We presented Cain and Abel as a dramatization, and for meditation explained the sense: the world abandoned to sin, going from evil to worse; Cain driven from the race of men as Adam and Eve from the face of God. Thank God for Pere Vournier: he repeated the catechism questions that dealt with what we had seen so far while I finished the breviary (an accomplishment which I was able to repeat every day of the Retreat!). We tried to repeat all the catechism questions during the retreat; not so much for instruction as to get across the idea that what they had learned was something to enter

into their lives. We made a meditation as well on sin and the results of sin: death. Around 8:30 or 9:00 each night we went to bed, rarely later.

As it happened, I picked for the beginning of the Retreat the first night since December that it rained. The dry season begins to finish during April, and soon it was finishing on us. The retreatants made huts of their mats, four or five together; and Maurice and I experimented with the impermeability of mosquito netting. Fortunately it didn't rain much, but I had gone to bed already with a headache, and the disturbance didn't help things much. But the rain did keep the mosquitoes off the retreatants, and so was probably worth it. The next morning we sent all into the bush to meditate on what we had seen the day before and, when they returned, presented the story of Noah and the ark. The rain of the night before was no disadvantage here either, and we acted out the entire affair: the sins of man multiplied, God's "repentance for having made man," the decision to destroy all, the one just man, the ark—twelve mats put together by the retreatants (all the family of Noah with the right to enter the ark) to symbolize the twelve Apostles. And we explained the symbolism of the ark: as all who were with Noah in the ark were saved from the deluge, so all with Christ in the Church are saved from destruction. The water of the Flood destroyed all that was evil and left a New Earth; the water of Baptism eradicates all that is evil and leaves a "new creature," a new man, "created by God in justice and holiness of truth." During this explanation all the retreatants gathered together on the mats that constituted the ark, and afterwards, the devil and his crew claimed for their own and carried into hell the wicked (catechists) who had perished in the Flood. We gave the fires of Hell their due, as Christ did in the Gospels, but tried to get across the idea that the real suffering of Hell is to be separated from God. Hell is not an arbitrary punishment tacked on to sin; hell is the result of sin. Hell is the state of a man separated from God; sin is a free act of separation from God. He who separates himself from God by sin, in this life still has the creatures of God to distract and sustain him; but after death, he has nothing at all that partakes of the goodness of God. This is the real abandonment and despair

of Hell. On top of that, the pain of fire can only be a welcome distraction.

We meditated, as last night and earlier in the morning, on sin—each on his own sins, which would have kept him out of the ark, had he been alive in the time of Noah, etc. We also meditated on the goodness of God, the means of salvation, the meaning of Baptism, etc.—And Maurice explained the catechism again up to this point. Then he left on foot for the mission to fetch the 2CV ("deux chevoux" citroën). While he was gone we made the meditation on Abraham. God called us to quit our country, to go into a land he would show us. So we all hiked off through the bush to a spot out of sight of the camp. There I explained that a Christian is called to leave behind the sinful customs of the pagans; he is no longer a slave to his tribal ways, no longer merely Ngama, Dai, Manja, Gor, Kaba, etc., but a new race, a holy people, the people of God. This is important, because here one is really a slave to the customs of the race: marriage customs, initiation custom, etc. What we call "customs" in our culture are nothing in comparison: anyone who wants to buck public opinion can do it with relatively few reprisals. Here, the boy who refuses to partake in the pagan initiation, the girl who refuses to marry the man her parents want her to marry (ordinarily, the girl's choice is respected, but money can play a role . . .) risks death for the stand. I explained that it was not to adopt the customs of the white, either, that one becomes a Christian—too many so-called "evolues" (educated) believe that it is part of civilization to be as pagan as the white fortune-seekers they find out here. . . . So we meditated on Abraham, who left his country, who believed in the promise of God up to the point of sacrificing his only son, and who was granted alliance with God for his faith. We didn't just meditate, but we acted out the sacrifice of Isaac as we did the leaving of our country. The part of Abraham was played by a high-school boy, Jean Baptiste Radjitan, an extraordinary character and deep Christian, who every vacation helps with the mission. He was our right-hand man during the retreat, and we had him play consistently the part of all the "figures" or previews of Christ: (St. Michael the Archangel) Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and then Christ Himself. This was to get across,

or suggest at least, the continuity of the Old and New Testament lessons: all leading to, preparing for, Christ. In the New Testament skits he did the part of St. Peter also.

Abraham begot Isaac; Isaac begot Jacob; and Jacob begot 12 sons—from whom descended the 12 tribes of Israel. But all 12 partook in the "Original Sin" of Israel: they sold their brother Joseph into slavery. So we went out into the fields to guard our flocks, Joseph came to bring us our dinner, and we sold him to a group of passing Arabs (catechists), who loaded their baggage on Joseph's head, tied a rope around his neck, and led him off to Egypt (the camp). By the time we ourselves arrived in camp (Egypt) to buy wheat—after listening to the account of Joseph's resisted seduction, his imprisonment, Pharao's dream, and Joseph's installment as chief steward of Egypt to bring the people through the seven fat and lean years—Joseph was installed on a throne with two sword-wielding guards and a Green Pastures Pharoah by his side. I had planned to cut things short and give only one trip to Egypt; but Jean Baptiste and the other high-school boy with him (Robert Bitinant) knew the story too well, and we went through the money in the sack, the cup, the retention of Benjamin, etc., until the whole family was installed in Egypt. Then we ate lunch like the favored relatives of the top man of Pharaoh's realm.

In the afternoon, Maurice taught the catechism again, and explained the relation of the Paschal Lamb with the Crucifixion, Mass, etc. He had brought a young goat back with him from the village, and we were all set to be enslaved and delivered. We put on the story of Moses killing the Egyptian, his flight into the desert, the burning bush, and (in accelerated form) the ten plagues of Egypt. This was after explaining that our fall into slavery was in punishment for the "Original Sin" of our race: selling Joseph into slavery. Same theme: sin is enslavement to the powers of evil; Christ delivers us. By four o'clock we were ready to finish with Egypt, and before the eyes of all we slaughtered the paschal lamb—first explaining and reading the directions God gave to Moses. The goat was a legitimate substitute, since the Bible itself left the choice to each family. We didn't sacrifice the goat, for it doesn't seem that the first Pasch was a sacrifice (?), and I

was a little hesitant about anything that might resemble a pagan sacrifice, but we let the blood of the goat speak and explained the significance of the Blood of Christ. We filled a gourd with the blood, and Moses marked a cross with it on the forehead of each retreatant (there were no doors to mark, and this was to prepare the part in the Baptismal rite in which the priest signs each on the forehead with the sign of the cross), before we went to bed. The Paschal Lamb was an immediate salvation for me, as I had taken an antibiotic for a swelling in my throat, and by supper-time I could hardly stand up. We said Mass after killing the goat (Maurice explained again the connection), and then ate; the catechists served me a pot of the best pieces of the goat, in which I fished with my fingers in the dark while they ate the "boule" of rice or millet or manioc (we ate all 3 during the Retreat) with the portion of the goat that came to them. One thing the dramatization taught me: when in the Bible the Jews are told to eat the *whole* lamb, intestines, head, feet, and all, this is no impossible command. The only thing that our group didn't eat of the goat was the skin, (and the eyeballs, I think) and that only because I claimed it to make a water sack. Otherwise they'd have singed off the hair and eaten the skin as well. The intestines they cleaned out and rolled around somebody's finger, then laced into a design and cooked with the rest. I don't think Moses himself could have criticized the thoroughness of our paschal supper. Before going to bed we marked all with the blood of the goat, as I said, and explained that the Angel of death would pass through the camp during the night, and that in the morning we must be ready to leave in haste; that Pharaoh would be ready to let us go.—At 5:30 I jumped out of bed (feeling fine), blew the whistle, and we broke camp in a rush; in very little time indeed, we loaded all our baggage on the heads of the retreatants and catechists, and waded into the creek. It made a good Red Sea: ten or fifteen yards up to the waist, and had time and the spirit of the retreat permitted, I'd love to have taken a picture of the column. Once on the other side, we put everything down on the bank and I explained that Pharaoh's army was entering the Red Sea. We watched them drown, gave thanks to God, and set off for the Promised Land.

When I was feeling bad the night before I had arranged with Maurice to let me go back in the 2CV while he came with the 403 ("peugeot 403," a pick up truck), pushed by the catechists and retreatants. I rushed back to the mission and to breakfast, and before I could return to the group, a couple of catechists came to tell me they had already arrived at a new site—just a few hundred yards from the mission, and not at all the site I had in mind, but a much better one as it turned out. I felt this was a providential delay on my part, as I wasn't there to mess things up with bad directions; and as I rejoiced over the news, Maurice arrived in the 403, under his own power! He had tried to start it some twenty times on a fairly good road, and at last it kicked off. Maurice stayed at the mission to fix lunch, and I rejoined the retreatants in our new camp—a clump of trees not more than twenty minutes walk from the mission, but far enough from everything to be isolated for prayer. We meditated on our situation: in the desert with Moses. We had, like Abraham, left everything to follow God into the desert. Now we were there to be formed as His people, with the customs and laws He would give us. We must be prepared to leave everything behind and trust in God completely if we were to be Christians —and in return, we would be the People of God.

We put on the story of the manna in the desert here—murmuring against Moses, God's message, and then we gave each a handful of hardtack—closest we could find to manna—and explained "not on bread alone," and Communion.

I've forgotten now the exact position of the private meditations we made during all this, but during the whole Retreat I'm afraid it was a question of playing by ear. Usually I didn't know a day ahead of time, sometimes not an hour ahead of time, what the next exercise would be. But we tried to do as much private meditating as possible. When we saw they were too tired, we put on a skit, or taught the catechism, or found some other occupation. But I suppose we averaged a good four or five half hour private meditations a day—rarely, if ever, longer, as I doubted they could manage more.

In the desert I taught the first two commandments until noon, and then left for lunch with Jean Baptiste and Maurice —first instructing the remaining catechists how to put on the

apostasy of Israel in our absence. We explained to the Retreatants that Moses was leaving for the top of Mt. Sinai to get the Ten Commandments, read the description in the Bible of the thunder, clouds, etc. and the fire that covered the mountain of God, and admonished them to remain faithful to the spirit of the Retreat while they ate. Then we left.

Maurice, Jean Baptiste and I ate at the house, and when we returned to camp, the catechists had followed instructions perfectly for the apostasy of the Golden Calf. When we came in sight, or rather, when Moses came in sight, for I stayed a few yards behind, they began to clap and dance before the Golden Calf—a magnificent construction of wood and leaves, with a golden (copper) face I'd bought from some Arab a month before, and bedecked with all the jewelry of the women and girls that were present. Moses entered the camp, stopped the dancing, threw down the Golden Calf, and launched into a condemnation of the whole people for their desertion of God. Then I came into the camp (more or less representing God), and we knelt down and made a meditation. Here, as always, I insisted that what we had seen was not just a play—it was the reality of our history and of our lives. We reflected on the sinfulness and fickleness of man, the gravity of deserting God, the nature of sin as a desertion of God, etc. And then we went into the bush to meditate alone. Afterwards, we spent the afternoon on the ten commandments—as Moses explained the law of Sinai to the people before the Alliance. I had meant to dramatize the Alliance as well, but it was already past five, and dark comes just after six; so we returned to the mission in silence, meditating on our attachment to God through the commandments.

In the church, before Mass (Mass was always in the evening during the Retreat), I called each retreatant by name to the altar. He knelt down and promised to observe the Commandments of God that had been explained during the day. After this I announced that now all were bound to God by an alliance, and that if they remained faithful, they would receive the Baptism that would constitute them truly, and not just juridically, the People of God—by a new birth and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, making them children of

the Father. We explained the difference between the Old Alliance and the New, the blood of the Old, and the Blood of the New. Then after the Mass all returned to the camp to sleep.

We began Wednesday morning with a meditation on the Incarnation; the three ideas of the Angelus: Mary invited to be Mother of God, the submission of the "handmaid of the Lord," the Word made Flesh. We had loosed the cords from the retreatants' wrists and ankles last night, in symbol of the deliverance of Christ. Last night as well, mail had arrived, brought by Fr. Rozee-Belle-Isle from Ft. Archambault (where he had been to pick up Fr. Caloyeras, a Greek Jesuit, to help with Holy Week at Maro) and this was one of the most providential timings of the Retreat. The mail was two catechetical picture-charts sent by Jinkie and Sister Lucy from the U. S., (Fr. Heeg's charts) and 100 copies of selections of the Gospel, donated by La Presse Missionaire in France. Nothing could have been more opportune for the beginning of the meditations on the Life of Christ, and we used the pictures to pick up interest as the days of talk began to wear the retreatants down. To some extent I even chose my topics in function of what pictures were on the charts, but fortunately the charts had everything I needed, and I wasn't forced to omit anything for want of visual aids. After the meditation on the Incarnation, Maurice taught the catechism: Part II, Life of Christ, and then we meditated on the obedience and humility of Christ working at Nazareth. For a Christian, the whole of life is to do the will of God, whether this comes from the mouth of an angel as for Mary, or from the mouth of an illiterate carpenter as it did for Jesus. I stressed the fact that Mary and Joseph were both illiterate (this is a safe assumption, isn't it, given the culture of their day?), because here those who have been to school (rudimentary as it is) quickly despise those who haven't, even refusing to listen to their parents' advice. After this we left time for the school boys to read "La Bonne Nouvelle" (selections from the Gospels), and the women and boys who couldn't read worked. The discrimination was deliberate; I tried to teach them during the retreat that there is nothing humiliating about the discrimination between literate and illiterate, manual and office workers—each does

the work God wills for him, and no one is better than another for that. Then we considered Christ's temptations in the desert. The chart was a godsend by now, for the fatigue was showing. The lesson of the meditation was, in a phrase, "why we become Christians";—for the same reason Christ came to earth: because of the word of God and the spiritual regeneration Christ gives. The devil's effort during the Temptation was to change the nature of Christ's mission by proposing the advantages of a "rice Christianity"—the facile success of the prophet who gives bread in the desert, of the wonder-worker floating down from the pinnacle of the Temple in sight of all. But a Church in apparent possession of "all the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them" would not be the Church of God. Christ came for the poor and the sinners, to give a spiritual prosperity, and the danger of complacency is so great when all goes smoothly that a well-running church full of comfortable parishioners is always liable to a certain amount of suspicion. Fortunately, there is a question in the Ngama catechism that asks, "Do we become Christians . . . to eat well? . . . to be important people? . . . to be rich?"—and I was able to tell them this was the same lesson as that of the Gospel of the Temptation. Here, as everywhere, there are plenty of people who are Christian because it is chic.

Once in the neighborhood of the mission, Maurice and I adopted the practice of eating at least one meal at home. The diet of the people here is always the same: a "boule" or paste-like mush of millet or manioc (which each digs into with his fingers, dips in a sauce of smoked fish or (rarely) meat, well peppered, and conveys in handfuls to his mouth. You are expected to lick your fingers clean before dipping into the common pot again, and the catechists all kidded me for "not knowing how to eat." I told them my mother always told me the same thing, so their criticism was nothing new—but afterwards I licked my fingers. Still, you can't very well work on this alone, so Maurice and I managed a supplement. This also gave us the opportunity to invite one of two catechists to lunch each day with us, and we pumped them for information on the spirit of the retreatants, the customs of the Ngamas, etc.

In the afternoon I selected the meditations with an idea of

teaching the sacraments at the same time: Nicodemus (Baptism), the Prodigal Son (Confession), the daughter of Jairus (Extreme Unction). In part this was for the sake of instruction, but I also felt that the meditations most likely to bear fruit in their lives would be those they would live in their religious existence from day to day. But perhaps the real reason was that for me the aspect of Christianity that preoccupies me more and more is the nature of the Church as the "place of encounter," the *lieu de recontre* with Christ. God bridged the gap between Himself and men when He took flesh in the Incarnation. He gave us the possibility of human contact with God: in words, by sight, through human gestures and acts. And when Christ ascended into Heaven, it was not the end of human contact with God, for this continues in the Church through the sacraments. In the "visible signs," the human words, gestures, and symbolism of the sacraments, Christ continues to act visibly on earth. Through the sacraments we communicate humanly with Christ as did the men of His own day. Faith must complement vision, but this was already true in the Gospels; those who saw only the man and the cures missed the communication with God. For the moment this seems to me the biggest difference between Catholicism and Protestantism: the difference between the communication of a doctrine through the Bible, and the continued living contact with Christ through the sacraments. (Thank God for the Fogles, the Protestant missionaries at Ft. Archambault: after the Mass Wednesday night I was so shot I didn't know what to do. I found a can of spaghetti and meat balls Mrs. Fogle had given us, and ate the whole can while Maurice accompanied the retreatants back to camp.)

Wednesday evening we gave the first of the Baptismal ceremonies. The Liturgy now permits us to divide the ceremonies, extending them over a period of time as in the early Church. Some missionaries here spread them over the whole of Lent, but this year, at least, I put them all in the Retreat. I tried as much as possible to prepare the ceremonies through the meditations, and on the whole our timing was very good. The first step consists of a profession of faith (corresponding to the acceptance of the Commandments in the Old Alliance), a renouncing of Satan, and the symbolic expulsion of Satan

from the catechumen, who is signed on his ears, eyes, mouth, etc. with the sign of the cross. I hoped that after the re-enactment of the Paschal Lamb, and the explanations of the new birth, new creation at Baptism, these ceremonies would have more meaning. As we are signed all over with the cross of Christ at our new birth, so we should live as followers of Christ. And at the moment of our death we are signed anew all over in the sacrament of Extreme Unction, in pardon for the faults we have committed against our new life, with our new members. I was going to include the ceremony of salt with the first step, but at the last moment changed my mind. It was better to wait until we considered the Sermon on the Mount and Christ's designation of His disciples as the "salt of the earth."

No sooner had I rejoined the others at the camp Wednesday night than a storm blew up. The rainy season had not begun, but it was announcing itself. So we packed everything together and headed for the mission, where we found place for everyone in the outbuildings. God having sent us there, we stayed there for the rest of the retreat, hiking back to the camp in the morning to make our meditations in peace. I was just as happy with this arrangement, as the idea of the retreat was a progressive return from exile, through the desert, to the Promised Land, to the Church, the new Garden of God. Also, after leaving the creek, we had hauled water in the pickup truck (c. two drums a day) Tuesday and Wednesday from the mission to the new camp, and this could have become a chore. For two days it was a welcome break.

We began Thursday morning with a meditation on the Sermon on the Mount. I gathered them all in the church before six A.M. for the points and explained the Beatitudes. Then all separated to pray.

We gathered again in the church after half an hour or so (during which Maurice and I had breakfast) for a meditation on the Christian attitude towards work. This was to prepare them for a work period that morning (cleaning the grounds, etc. for Easter—which was more necessary as a relaxation than as a clean-up, but necessary for both), and the work-period was an exercise of what they were to hear. We insisted that a Christian works; he is not like the Arabs, who find

the earth a desert and leave it a desert. The Christian considers the earth something God is interested in; He came down to work there Himself. The earth is the Garden of God that has been converted into bushland by sin. But now that Christ has come, the work of reconversion has begun. The Christian's aim is to change the bush into a garden again—materially as well as spiritually. On the material side, this means that a Christian can't abide the sight of men who are children of God, or potential children of God, living in squalor and misery like slaves. A Christian has no desire to be rich, but he does demand for himself and his children, and for all mankind, a decency corresponding to the dignity of his soul. The motto of Tchad's (only) political party is perfectly Christian in this: "Unity, Work, Progress." Thus, materially, the Christian demands that the externals of life portray the internal condition of children of God, not of slaves of the devil. Spiritually, we work to establish the "kingdom of God" on earth: the conditions of life, customs, example, etc. that permit man to live with as little temptation, as little difficulty in keeping the commandments and progressing in knowledge and love of God as possible.

After the work period, we considered Christ's designation of His disciples as the Salt of the earth, the Light of the world. We are this because we are new creatures in Christ by the regeneration of Baptism. But this supposes that we have received the light of Christ by faith, that we live by the New Law of Christ, and that we give an example of men animated by the Holy Spirit, living as Christians whose standards excel those of the pagans as Christ's moral teaching excels the Ten Commandments. And we explained the morality of the Sermon on the Mount. ("La Bonne Nouvelle" became my handbook for this part of the Retreat.)

Since the girls had prepared the "boule" during the work period, we made our meditation en route to the camp site, carrying the meal with us. There we sat down and reenacted the preliminaries of the Multiplication of the Loaves. Christ (Jean Baptiste Radjitan) had his Apostles make the crowd sit down, asked what there was to eat, etc., and told the apostles to distribute the loaves and fishes. The apostles distributed the "boule." There weren't twelve baskets left

over afterwards (there weren't twelve spoonfuls left over . . .), but the point got across all the same, I think. When all had finished, I read and explained the discourse on the Eucharist in St. John, chapter six, and told them all to lie down and meditate until they fell asleep. At four o'clock they were still sleeping—but I got them up anyway, because the time was short. We put on the choosing of the Apostles, Christ gave them their instructions for their first mission, the "rich young man" refused his vocation because "he had great possessions," and we finished with the picture of, and meditation on, the Good Shepherd. In this meditation I tried to give them an understanding of the missionaries they knew—of our life, etc. —and a sense of what a vocation is. Then we returned to the mission for the second step in the Baptismal ceremonies and the Holy Thursday Mass.

We gave the salt, the exorcisms whose prayers recalled what they had seen during the first days, in the Old Testament; but unfortunately not all the prayers are translated into Ngama. Here, as in all the Baptismal ceremonies, I read the prayers in French, and Radjitan repeated them in Ngama, reading from the Ngama ritual. When the formula was short and repeated, I gave it in Ngama myself. Immediately after the ceremonies, I gave them a talk on the Last Supper: Christ's humility in the washing of feet, the Eucharist, the "ordination" of the Apostles with the power to say Mass, Judas, His promise to return, to send the Holy Spirit. We put on the Washing of the Feet during the Mass according to the liturgy, and everything else according to the liturgy as well, as nearly as we could; and after the Mass they ate their 'boule" and Maurice and I ate ours. I am always exhausted around 7:30 - 8 P.M., and more so after the Holy Week Services (what the French call a "coupe de pompe"), and I asked Maurice to give them points on the Agony in the Garden after supper, while I went to bed.

By Friday their food was almost running out, and some were coming to us for help. But by and large we kept to our intention and gave nothing. This was a situation that had been premeditated as well: Good Friday in hunger and fasting; a day to try the soul and prepare them to endure with Christ. We laid a lot of stress during the Retreat (particularly in the

meditations on Abraham and while with Moses in the desert) on the need to be ready to suffer in order to remain faithful to Christ. Many of the retreatants risk a great deal of pressure around the time of their marriage, for the customs here make it almost impossible to marry without previous intercourse. And for the girls the problem is even more serious if their parents choose to give them to a pagan. Friday was even slower than the preceding days, due to the all-night vigil before the Blessed Sacrament in the church. We divided the retreatants into seven groups, and each group, with a catechist, made two half hour vigils, during which they chanted the Rosary with a hymn between each decade. All night long as I woke up during the night I could hear them in the church fifty yards away.

So Friday we cut down the meditations quite a bit. At 5:30 we gathered in the church for points on the arrest of Christ, with stress mainly on the desertion of the Apostles. Satan, Adam and Eve, had been separated from God by their sin. Many of the Jews had been tempted to desert the people of God in the desert to return to the fleshpots of Egypt. And now, after these sins of malice and weakness of desire, comes desertion through fear. The result is the same: separation from Christ, the essence of sin. We prayed, as constantly through the Retreat, for the grace not to abandon, not to separate ourselves from God, from Christ, from His Body the Church. For the meditation we hiked back into the bush, to the camp, behind Radjitan and the catechists. Radjitan in alb, was the symbol of Christ, and the catechists were his captors. We followed far behind meditating on our cowardice. After the meditation (about an hour), Maurice taught the parables of the Sower, the Cockle, and the Sterile Fig tree, emphasizing the incumbency on every Christian to give fruit. Baptism is the beginning, not the goal. When we finished, I gave points again on the Christian life as a life of suffering behind Christ: "Unless you take up your cross and follow me, you cannot be my disciples." As I had explained in Tuesday's meditation on Moses and the people of God in the desert, Baptism is the crossing of the Red Sea; the water destroys what is evil as in the time of Noah and Moses, and leaves a new earth, a new people. But the new man is left

in the desert with God; he is not in the Promised Land. And he won't be in the Promised Land until he has suffered with Christ in the desert of this world, and remained faithful. God gives him bread in the desert, the Eucharist that is the food of the soul, strengthening him to walk with Christ. But unless he is prepared to endure and to suffer, he cannot be a Christian.

We meditated on this, and then—a little late in the Retreat, I admit,—I gave an instruction on how to meditate; the work of the eyes (seeing the event with the imagination), the work of the head (asking questions and trying to answer them; if we are praying well, God will give us the answers); the work of the heart (telling Christ what we desire to do, asking his help). And then we put on in succession, without meditation, but with explanation and brief "meditations aloud" which I led, the parable of the wedding feast and the man without the wedding robe (the white robe of innocence which the angels, Adam and Eve, had lost by their sin; that we receive anew at Baptism; its name: Grace) and of the ten virgins, 5 wise and 5 foolish. For the ten virgins we used the eight girls making the retreat who were not yet married, four and four, and the whole group came singing to escort them to the marriage feast. The skits caused a certain amount of laughter this time, which I encouraged, feeling the retreatants needed a break. But after each we tried to emphasize the gravity of the lesson contained: union with Christ in Heaven for all eternity or eternal abandonment in Hell, depending on whether we keep our robe white, our lamps lit. These parables too were to prepare the Baptismal ceremonies of the white robe and the lighted candle.

When we finished, it was ten in the morning. We returned to the mission meditating, each one on the parable of his choice according to the method I had explained, closed with a prayer in the church, and all were free until three P.M. to work, read their copies of "La Bonne Nouvelle," and prepare what food was left. Somehow it seems that Good Friday turns out the same the world over: a long day that drags, especially from noon to three.

At three o'clock we made the Stations of the Cross, outdoors, following a large crucifix along the route of Palm Sunday and

stopping periodically for a station. Three catechists in albs helped me: one with the crucifix, one on his left with pictures of each station (taken from the "Images-Bernadette" which we use in teaching), and the third (Jean Baptiste) to translate. (I should have mentioned that the retreat was all given in French with Ngama translation.) For the stations we followed no book, but I made the meditations aloud, recapitulating many of the ideas previously seen: the weakness of Pilate, the need for perseverance (fall of Christ) the cross in Christian life, (Simon of Cyrene), the courage of Veronica bucking public opinion and the crowd, Christ the innocent stripped of his robe to regain ours for us, the Church born of the wounded side of the Christ sleeping on the cross as Eve from the rib of Adam, and finally, the laying in the tomb, which we made at the Baptismal font in the church. I explained that at Baptism we die and descend with Christ into the tomb to rise again with Him as new men. The stations took over an hour, and afterwards Maurice taught the catechism again —on the nature of the Church, I think,—and at 5:30 we began the third step of the Baptismal ceremonies: introduction into the church and into the Church, the family and house of God, "Ephtheta," and the anointing with oil—to make us strong to fight against the devil and temptation, to endure our "agony" with Christ in the Greek sense of athletic combat. We performed the Good Friday service, and afterwards, for a few minutes in the church, I spoke of the Church, the Mystical Body, and the nature of Christian marriage as a "two in one flesh" based on the unity of all Christ's members with Him in the flesh of the one Mystical Body of Christ. The setting for this instruction was the Last Supper discourse, as I had told them Thursday that Our Lord said many other things at the Supper which I couldn't explain to them then.

Saturday, as usual, they were up before 5:30, so I rose with them, and after prayers in the church we gathered in the same shady spot that had served as the Garden of Eden the first day. There we meditated on the Resurrection of Christ and its fruits for us: we now truly constitute the People of God, not by blood as with Abraham, nor by a juridical alliance as with Moses, but by a rebirth. We are truly born of God, made one with each other and with Christ by the indwelling

of the one Spirit, principle of unity, soul of the Mystical Body, Whom Christ won for us by His death on the cross. With this, we are re-introduced into the Garden of God from which our sin had banished us. True, the earth is still a place of work and suffering; but since the Redemption it is again, for the saved, the Garden of God, for Christ is there. Where God is, is a garden; where He is not, is the wilderness. We made the meditation afterwards in the bush, and Maurice then taught the catechism until 7:30. Then we dramatized the appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the bestowal of power to forgive sins. Unjustifiably, perhaps, we telescoped the story of St. Thomas into this, but we had neither time nor energy to make another meditation of it, and Christ's words to Thomas, "Blessed are those who have not seen but have believed," brought out the lesson we wanted to give: Christ still working on earth through the sacraments, invisibly in one sense, but visibly for those who believe. We have not seen the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove, and heard the voice of the Father calling us His children at Baptism; but we believe. We do not see the Spirit entering our souls again at confession after sin, but we hear the words of absolution and believe. A sacrament has a visible and an invisible component, and faith makes the unity: Christ acting still on earth through His human instruments for those who believe. We meditated briefly on this, and assembled again at 8:45 for a presentation (in a skit and by the catechetical charts of Fr. Heeg, Loyola Univ. Press) of St. Peter's triple protestation of love for Christ after the Resurrection. After his triple denial, Christ gives him the chance to make reparation; and establishes him over all the Church, and all grades: "Feed my lambs . . . yearling . . . sheep." With the theme of feeding the sheep, I brought out a whole series of Fr. Heeg's pictures, feeling that now all the visual aids possible were needed, and we spoke again of the priesthood and the Eucharist, the Good Shepherd —but this time in a context of the one fold and the one Shepherd. Christ's flock follows Him in the person of His vicar on earth, who feeds them through the sacraments and the word of God "taught with authority." We included in the meditation a prayer for the Protestants, who are also the sheep of Christ, but not yet of the one fold.

I had planned to make one meditation on the Ascension and another on Pentecost, but time and natural forces being limited as they were, I gave the two together, with abundant use of Fr. Heeg's catechetical charts. The theme was the same as for the whole day: the Church: Christ ascending into Heaven, but remaining behind in His Church, through the Spirit whom He sends, acting in the person of His apostles and of the priesthood till the end of time. For Pentecost we considered both the gift of the Spirit to the Church as a whole, and especially to the hierarchy to feed the flock of Christ, and also to each Christian in the sacrament of Confirmation, when the Spirit comes to render him strong, a soldier of Christ, capable of enduring suffering with joy for the name of Christ, as did the Apostles in the Acts. We closed with the constant prayer of the Retreat: to be new men, born again in Christ, and to remain faithful to Him, not to separate ourselves from Him again by sin, but to walk in the newness of the life He died to give.

The retreatants didn't know it, but this was the last meditation of the retreat. We gave a "free time" in which they prepared their meal (we instructed all to give what remained to the women, the catechists to give theirs too, and all to eat in common; we added a little to the catechists' ration to help out the others without establishing any precedent of aid), washed their clothes, etc. And Maurice and I prepared for the Holy Saturday vigil and the final ceremony of Baptism, preparing the Baptismal registers, etc.

The Saturday Vigil began at ten P.M. The Christians came in from the surrounding villages, and the group from Benduma brought the balafon (a sort of xylophone with wooden tubes under the keys—very pretty sound), a tom-tom four feet high, and another two and a half feet or so long (which lay flat on the ground while the player squatted over it), and gourds with pebbles in them. We have special permission to use these instruments in the liturgy, and when we came to the part in the Mass where they opened up, you knew the world had risen with Christ! The balafon begins, then after a minute the tom-toms throb in, then everything together. Another minute, and the people begin to clap with the song. From this point on distraction is impossible: the whole man is engaged! By

one A.M. the Mass was over, and around two Maurice and I got to bed. I slept on a cot outdoors behind the mission (I sleep outdoors every night now, because it is cooler)—a magnificent night: cool, filled with stars, and filled with the peace of God. At five A.M. my monkey woke me up, but I was still so full of contentment I just lay in bed and watched him spring from my bed to a bench to a mango tree in the yard, and I thanked God for the gift of the world. At the 8 o'clock Mass I preached on the coming rains, the sowing, and the beginning of the catechetical cycle anew in preparation for Easter, 1964.

Father Gerald Ellard, S.J.

William J. Leonard, S.J.

Note: Father Gerald Ellard, S.J., after thirty years of labor for the perfection of the liturgy and the promotion of The Liturgical Movement, died on April 1, 1963 at Boston College and was buried at Saint Mary's (Kansas) on April 4th. In the previous November Father Ellard's golden jubilee in the Society had been celebrated at Saint Mary's College by a symposium of distinguished liturgists. As a tribute to Father Ellard's life and work, The Woodstock Letters here publishes the keynote address of this symposium, which was delivered by the Secretary of The Liturgical Conference, Father William J. Leonard, S.J.

"Homo creatus est ut laudet Dominum Deum suum." This sentence, which stands at the head of the Spiritual Exercises, might be used to justify the interest of any Jesuit in the worship, public or private, of God. For a long time it seems to have been considered chiefly, if not exclusively, in terms of private worship, and perhaps this was owing in large measure to the fact that from 1570, or thirty years after the approbation of the Society, public worship was so carefully codified and regulated as to be virtually immutable. It would go on; Jesuits felt that objectively God was being worshipped publicly so long as the Mass was being offered, the sacraments conferred, the Divine Office recited. Their attention would be best given to private worship—meditation, examination of conscience, thanksgiving after Holy Communion, retreats, devotions—all very good exercises whose performance was always susceptible of improvement. How much this attitude was formed or hardened by the emphasis on *ex opere operato* that was common in an age of anti-Protestant polemics, how much it can be traced to an earlier anti-Arian reaction (described by Father Jungmann in his *Pastoral Liturgy*), I must leave to more competent historians to decide. The fact is that although a surprising number of Jesuits can be counted in the ranks of those who have labored for improvement of public

worship (Kramp, Hanssens, Martindale, Doncoeur, Schmidt, Howell, Daniélou, Meersch, Jungmann, Hofinger, Feder, Gélineau are some of the names that come at once to mind, not to speak as yet of the Jubilarian we are assembled to honor), the Society as a whole was thought of as not especially concerned with the liturgy. It requires some honesty and humility now to look about us and appraise the quality of public worship in America—to look no further afield—and to speculate on what it might be if we had given it more of our attention.

But we must not oversimplify the historical problem or too easily indulge the current vogue of breast-beating. If Jesuits in the past did not see the need of improving public worship, no one else did, either. The time was simply not ripe; there were dozens of vexing problems to be dealt with—Jansenism, for instance, or the Enlightenment, or Modernism; there was the enormous missionary expansion that followed on 16th century geographical discoveries; there were the preoccupations (to put it very mildly) we associate with the names of Garibaldi, and Michael Baius, and Fénelon, and Voltaire, and Bismarck, and Taikosama, not to mention, so far as we ourselves were most intimately concerned, Pombal, de Choiseul, and Clement XIV. An epoch which saw the rise of nationalism was not likely to understand or give hospitality to the idea of the Christian community. The guns which would roar at Verdun had not been cast yet. The hob-nailed legions of the Führer which would trample Czechoslovakia and Poland and the Low Countries under the Luftwaffe's murderous umbrella had not been born. Auschwitz and Dachau were pleasant little hamlets, I suspect, that never dreamed of the horror and infamy their names would one day connote. The fearful mushroom over Hiroshima, betokening an end to all human activity and to life itself, still lay in the very bottom of the witches' caldrons. There was superb personal charity and high personal sanctity, but the institutions by which men live, the society which is the context and often the matrix of their habits, was not Christian, and in it the seed of corporate life and prayer could never thrive. Are things so different today? Perhaps not; society seems less Christian than before. But out of the agonies of our century, the blood baths and the

terror, the gas chambers and the fallout shelters, perhaps with no loftier motives than fear or sheer repugnance at what man has done to man, a desperate hope has come into being, that men may learn at last to live together in peace. Every current of our time sets toward this ideal: Martin Buber talks of "I am Thou;" Gabriel Marcel fights against the extinction of the human person; Viktor Frankl tells how love sustained him in a concentration camp, and Erich Fromm gives lessons in the art of loving. The United Nations, the European Common Market, the World Council of Churches, the very Ecumenical Council now sitting in Rome—are these not so many clear indications of the time-spirit? How providential was God our Lord in preparing the modern Church for this development as long as a hundred years ago, bringing back into the foreground of Catholic thought the doctrine of the Mystical Body (Moeller, Scheeben, Guéranger, Marmion). How earnestly has dogmatic and ascetical writing striven to explore its riches (de Lubac, Daniélou, Guardini, Leen, Boylan, Masure, Meersch, Bouyer, Ryan, Parsch, Braso, Davis, Jungmann, Plus, Schillebeeckx, Ellard). Pius XII could say in 1958, "If it is true that there is a time for every truth, this is the hour of the Church considered as the Mystical Body of Christ."

But ideas have consequences, or, to express it more accurately, and, I am sure, more familiarly, *agere sequitur esse.* The corporate Church must act corporately, and its first corporate act must be its adoring, grateful acknowledgment of Him who gave it life. *"Homo creatus est ut laudet."* Nothing perfunctory, nothing shabby or second-rate will do here. There must be what the French are calling *engagement*; the act must be limpid and lucid, so that all may understand, and it must be truly a corporate act in which all may participate according to their degree. No less than private prayer, the liturgy demands that we stir up that grace that is in us, that *fides et devotio* which the Canon of the Mass ascribes to the sons of God gathered about the altar. Not less but more than private prayer, the liturgy is a going into the Presence, an encounter with the living God, where men should be all tingling awareness. Anything that blocks that vision must be shorn away; anything that sharpens it must be kept.

And we are beginning to understand this need at last, are we not: that God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, that the Father seeks such worshippers, and that the net result of all our preaching and teaching, of our universities and parishes and missions and retreat-houses will be to provide them? We labor for the reintegration of modern splintered life in Christ, the Head of his body, in order that Christ may present that body to his Father holy and without stain or wrinkle in one sublime and comprehensive gesture of worship, an everlasting liturgy of which we were recently again reminded by the Epistle in the Mass of All Saints, but which is prefigured and prepared for by the sincerity and generosity of our liturgy in this world.

Yes, I think we are beginning to understand all this. And if we are, it becomes us to be grateful to those who gave us understanding. I am a little hesitant about quoting the following observation, because of its author, but the observation remains true: "There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things." (The author's name is Nicolo Macchiavelli.) Our Father General, not long ago, praised St. Ignatius because he was an *audax innovator*, a man who boldly took the lead in the introduction of a new order of things. And the General said that if St. Ignatius were alive today he would support the liturgical movement with all his strength. *"Quanto zelo et amore arriperet audax ille innovator hunc modum inveniendi Deum et salvandi animas!"* The number of *audaces innovatores* in any generation is never large, and if someone should exclaim that this is a good thing, I would ask him to consider how many of them are now canonized and daily honored at our altars.

Father Ellard, in spite of his scholarly training and tastes, elected long ago to work in the field of popular liturgy, and his influence has been most powerfully felt in that field. Few men in America, at the time when he began his work, were equipped as he was to interpret the liturgy to modern Catholics and make it attractive to them. As he said in the Foreword to *The Mass of the Future* (1948), "In the Catholic Church nothing can be said to have a future save in so far as

it has a past and is deeply rooted in tradition," and he had read widely in that past, that tradition. By temperament and grace he was sympathetic with men's aspirations and problems in general and keenly sensitive to the winds of change blowing in his age. Lastly, he was endowed with courage to present unfamiliar ideas and patience to wait until they had been assimilated.

This is the thirtieth year of his uninterrupted service to St. Mary's College. A full generation of Jesuit seminarians has passed through his classes on their way to the altar, their minds shaped by his teaching to sympathy with liturgical renewal. These men are now pastors, university presidents, missionaries, professors, journalists, retreat directors, sponsors and supervisors of a thousand projects for the glory of God, so it is not difficult to imagine the enormous scope of his influence.

Even before his ordination Father Ellard had written, in April of 1925, a letter to the editor of *America* calling for the "opening up of the liturgy" in this country by means of classroom instruction, articles and books, lectures and sermons. The letter evoked similar letters on the same theme from other interested people, like the far-sighted and vigorous pioneer, Monsignor William Busch of St. Paul. It put the author in touch with Monsignor Martin Hellriegel of St. Louis, whose writing, lecturing, and pastoral example have made him the venerated father of liturgical achievement in the United States; and it brought him an invitation, a year later, to collaborate as Associate Editor of the new magazine, *Orate Fratres* (now *Worship*). This periodical, with the learning and zeal of its two editors-in-chief, Father Virgil Michel and Father Godfrey Diekmann, remains the authoritative organ of the liturgical movement in America and the most substantial of the many contributions of the Collegeville Benedictines to the cause of corporate worship. In 1951 the magazine awarded to Father Ellard its "Blessed Pius X Medal" in grateful recognition of twenty-five years of generous collaboration —the only medal he has ever worn in public.

Meanwhile there began to flow from the little room at St. Mary's a constant stream of books, articles, reviews, pamphlets, letters-to-the-editor, program materials, suggestions

and encouragement to questioners and beginners, correspondence with colleagues in Europe, Africa, Asia. *Christian Life and Worship* became in 1933 and still remains a standard text in Catholic colleges all over America. Later works were carried beyond the seas by missionaries and war-time chaplains; *The Mass in Transition* appeared in Italian and French translations and earned approval from the Holy See itself. A leaflet version of dialogue Mass, first published in 1938, is still (1962) being revised and republished after selling hundreds of thousands of copies.

However, Father Ellard has been no recluse. He has taught summer courses at Boston College, Marquette University, the University of San Francisco, and many other institutions. He has lectured at "institutes," liturgical "days" and "weeks" in almost every state in the union. He has conducted retreats for priests, religious, seminarians and laypeople. From the time of its organization in 1940 he was a member of the Board of Directors of the The Liturgical Conference, and for many years, as chairman of the program committee, he suggested the theme and the program of the annual national "Week." Perhaps his supreme achievement, so far as popular education was concerned, was the twelve years he spent on the faculty of "The Summer School of Catholic Action," a peripatetic institution that moves from city to city during the twelve weeks of summer. More than a hundred thousand persons attended the sessions during those years, to take part in the "six days you'll never forget" and to bring home with them the *SSCA Blue Book* which was conned by thousands of others. A staff member of the central office of the Sodality of Our Lady, which sponsored the Summer Schools, wrote (*Orate Fratres*, January, 1951): "I would cite Father Gerald Ellard's work as most important. He worked with the office here both through his writings and his classes in the Summer School of Catholic Action. It was his influence which initiated the dialogue Mass at these schools. The practice was carried back to many schools and colleges throughout the land, and to not a few parishes as well. Whatever success this type of Mass participation has had on a large scale can be attributed to him and to his work with us. In addition, he contributed informational and inspirational material for social worship

through this school and parish programming services sent out to thousands of schools and parishes in the United States."

Father Ellard has described his decision to champion the cause of the vernacular in the liturgy as a conversion, slow and painful but in the end utterly convinced. A fluent Latinist himself, he loves the sonorous rhythms of the language in which the Christians of the West have prayed for so long, but, just as he chose at the outset of his career to dedicate his time and energies to popular liturgy rather than to scholarly research, so now, putting his own preferences aside, he began to work for what seemed to him an indispensable requisite for a living liturgy—a living language. The first version of the American Ritual was largely his work, done under extreme pressure because of the exigencies of the moment. Many articles, many chapters in his books witness to the zeal with which he studied the progress of the vernacular languages as instruments of worship and cleared the way for the use of English.

If service be the criterion by which we evaluate the good Christian, the good priest, then Father Ellard has deserved well of the Church in America. If the public worship of God now corresponds more nearly to the ideal held up by St. Pius X fifty years ago, if the vitality of modern Christian groups and individuals is derived more abundantly from its "primary and indispensable source," if the community is more vividly aware that its vocation summons it both to adore God and to serve men, then very much of the credit belongs to Father Ellard. Let the presence here of so many of his colleagues stand as their acknowledgment of his merits and of their profound affection for him personally. *Audax innovator, te salutamus.*

Gerald Ellard, S.J.

Born—October 8, 1894, at Commonwealth, Wisconsin
Education—Regis High School, Denver
Entered Society—Los Gatos, California, 27 July 1912. (Member of the old "Denver Mission.")
Studies—Mount St. Michael's, Spokane (Philosophy)
St. Louis (Theology)
Regency—Regis High School, Denver

Ordination—St. Louis, 1926
Tertianship—St. Andrä, Austria, 1927-28
Doctoral studies—Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich, 1928-31
St. Louis University, professor of history 1931-32
St. Mary's College, Kansas, professor of ecclesiastical history and liturgy 1932-1963
Death—1 April 1963, at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Funeral—4 April 1963, at St. Mary's, Kansas

Principal publications:

Christian Life and Worship, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1933. (7 ed.)
Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D., Cambridge: Medieval Academy, 1933.
The Mystical Body and the American Bishops, St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1939
Men at Work at Worship, New York: Longmans, 1940
The Dialog Mass, New York: Longmans, 1942
Lest They Assist Passively, St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1943
Community Mass: Missa Recitata, St. Louis: Queen's Work, 1944
The Mass of the Future, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1948
Mediator Dei, with introduction and notes, New York: America Press, 1948
Power: the Supernatural Powers and Helps Conferred on Man (with J. R. Gleason), Chicago: Loyola U. Press, 1948
Loyalty (with W. Farrell), Chicago: Loyola U. Press, 1949
Service (with Sister Anne Burns, O.S.B.), Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1951
Follow the Mass, St. Paul: Catechetical Guild, 1953
Evening Mass: Our Latest Gift, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1954
The Mass in Transition, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956
Master Alcuin, Liturgist, Chicago: Loyola Univ. Press, 1956
La S. Messa in Transformazione, Rome: Mame, 1960
A Litany of Heroes and Saints, Milwaukee: Bruce, 1961
La liturgie en marche, Tours: Mame, 1961
Also: 192 articles, booklets, manuals, missals, contributions to encyclopedias, sermon outlines, published lectures, etc., etc., from 1923 to 1963. (Book reviews excluded.)

Books of Interest to Ours

Jesuit Education. An Essay on the Foundations of Its Idea. *By John W. Donohue, S.J.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1963. Pp. xviii-221. $5.00.

In 1959 the Jesuit Educational Association, moving since 1941 toward formularizing the objectives and procedures of Jesuit education, requested Father Donohue to write a book. To help him, the Association assembled some twenty specialists in a workshop in Chicago. Not to bind him but to provide opinions and suggestions from which he could cull, throughout a full week they discussed with him three main topics: 1) the essential features of Jesuit education, 2) the main problems confronting it, and 3) possible guiding policies. Then they recommended that he should write a brief book on topic 1 above; and further, that monographs should be published later about the remaining topics. Hence Father Donohue composed this book which aims to "draw out the implications of the educational principles" in the Jesuit educational documents, the *Spiritual Exercises, Constitutions, Ratio,* and others.

Successive chapters bring out these characteristics of Jesuit education. Ignatius adopted the educational procedures of the Renaissance as an instrument toward the goal of the Society, to bring men to know and love God. The chief principles and procedures of Jesuit education are found mainly in the documents listed above and in traditional practice. Thus there has been a constant Jesuit educational tradition, flexible for adaptation to Jesuit schools of the past and the ever changing present. It functions with the same presuppositions and goals as Christian education in general; yet it has a flavor of its own which is hard to define. It educates to produce intelligence, character, and effective participation in society. This extensive material is treated with incisive and apt but scattered references to Jesuit education on its three levels (upper elementary, secondary, and higher) and in its main eras (its primitive period of formation until 1599, its period of institutionalization represented by Jouvancy in 1703, and its modern period of unprecedented expansion).

This material is handled with admirable perspective, accuracy, and ability; and thus the book carries forward a healthy tendency which is becoming more apparent in each successive treatise on Jesuit education. Earlier in our century the statements or statutes in the *Ratio* or allied documents were often expounded as if they were truths of educational philosophy which were valid for all time. Little attention was paid to the ages of the students for whom they had been written or were yet to be applied; and frequently Jesuit education and Jesuit pedagogical methodology were not distinguished. Something else is now becoming

constantly clearer. Some of those statements do indeed present or imply principles perennially valid; but with many others their chief value lies in the fact that they were ingenious practical means and procedures for their own eras. They equipped the students of the ages in which they were formulated to take a capable and zealous part in their contemporary cultural, social, and religious life.

The author also aptly relates the Jesuit principles and procedures to the tenets of other educational philosophies, Catholic and non-Catholic. Yet his assigned task of treating all this material within 200 pages entailed inherent limitation, within which he acquitted himself extraordinarily well. Finding it impossible to give an orderly and comprehensive treatment of many important topics or persons, he often uses the following procedure. By one deft, accurate stroke he states something true or valuable about the matter; by another stroke he recognizes a limitation or an opposite viewpoint; and then he passes on to another topic. This will please most readers and minimize the danger of controversy. The present reviewer, for one, found no statement with which he felt disagreement of any moment; and he received many new and valuable insights. Yet he also found many statements where much more ought to be said if the treatment is to be well-rounded enough to furnish intellectually solid motivation for confident and vigorous procedure. At present the reader does not get sufficient information to inspire him to proceed with conviction—especially if he fears that he will encounter on opposing view.

Therefore, in this excellent book the author has, as a capable guide, accurately surveyed the field and erected in it clear, up-to-date guideposts. By doing this he has also made more clearly evident the need of a series of monographs which treat many of the topics, only touched on here, with the depth, breadth, and documented completeness which a scholar or an administrator often needs. Such a series is what the Chicago workshop recommended.

GEORGE E. GANSS, S.J.

The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. *Edited by John L. McKenzie, S.J.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. xiii-247. $6.50.

The late Michael J. Gruenthaner, S.J., was born in Buffalo, N.Y., on Oct. 1, 1887. The volume which was to have been a *Festschrift* honoring his 75th birthday has been transformed by his death on Sept. 14, 1962, seventeen days before the scheduled presentation, into a Memorial. Little else has been affected by the planned recipient's definitive change of status, even the tenses of the verbs in the "Editor's Preface" manifesting that it was set in type before Father's death and modified only by the insertion of a short paragraph in italics on p. ix.

Fr. Gruenthaner would have much appreciated the pieces composed in his honor by American Catholic biblical scholars, some scarcely half his age, all devoted to furthering the work on which he spent himself. If one misses a few names among the contributors, the *poena damni* is not, for once, unassuageable.

After the "Editor's Preface," a *Curriculum Vitae* composed by Francis A. Petru, S.J., and a bibliography of the writings of Fr. Gruenthaner, the articles are grouped as Old Testament, Intertestamental, and New Testament. They are, in the order of presentation: William L. Moran, S.J., "A Kingdom of Priests"; Ignatius Hunt, O.S.B., "Recent Melkizedek Study"; Frederick Moriarty, S.J., "Gerhard von Rad's *Genesis*"; Roland E. Murphy, O.Carm., "The Concept of Wisdom Literature"; Mitchell J. Dahood, S.J., "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job"; Louis F. Hartman, C.SS.R., "The Great Tree and Nabuchodonosor's Madness"; Bruce Vawter, C.M., "Levitical Messianism and the New Testament"; Robert North, S.J., "The Qumran Reservoirs"; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "The Bar Cochba Period" [*i.e.*, the Second Jewish Revolt, A.D. 132-135]; David Michael Stanley, S.J., "New Understanding of the Gospels"; Raymond E. Brown, S.S., "The Gospel Miracles"; Thomas Aquinas Collins, O.P., "Changing Styles in Johannine Studies"; and Francis McCool, S.J., "Living Water in John." A list of abbreviations together with general and scriptural indices complete the volume, printed in a typeface, small and unattractive, which is undoubtedly a major factor in the cramped appearance of the whole.

It would be a mistake for the non-technical reader to begin with the first contribution, that of Fr. Moran of the Biblical Institute, for while his article is on the highest level of scholarly competence, its meat is digestible only by professionals. The same should be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the articles by Frs. Dahood of the Biblical, Hartman of Catholic University, Vawter of Kenrick Seminary, North of Marquette University, and Fitzmyer of Woodstock College. On the other hand, it is precisely these articles which present, in the main, excellent examples of the scholarly level of American Catholic biblical work.

Non-technical readers and, in fact, all who should know what is going on in Catholic exegesis will profit from careful attention to the New Testament contributions. While these are addressed to differing levels of competence in the field (Fr. Stanley, for example, once more and doubtless by request presents "the facts of life" in Gospel study today; Fr. Collins offers a largely bibliographical article; Frs. Brown and McCool delve more deeply), there is something here for just about everyone. Equally informative, in their way, are the survey articles in Old Testament matters by Frs. Hunt, Moriarty, and Murphy.

One serious printing mistake should be pointed out. On p. 98, the last sentence of the first paragraph should read:

> The Levitical speculation understood a renewed covenant whose priesthood preserved its ancient privileges and was restored to a pristine purity; the priesthood of Christ is incomprehensible apart from a new covenant with an entirely new priesthood.

JOSEPH J. DeVAULT, S.J.

Three Paths in Philosophy. *By James Collins.* Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1963. Pp. 442. $7.50.

This book records James Collins' search for unity and truth in the swirling currents of present-day philosophy. In so doing, he explores the significance and values of three diverse paths: the existentialism of Sartre, Heidegger and Marcel; the naturalism of Darwin, Dewey and Marx; the theistic realism of Blondel, Maritain and Gilson. In each case, Collins probes the meaning of the philosopher with great sympathy and perception from the point of view of his own theistic realism. The critical viewpoint which unifies these studies that have appeared in the journals over the past decade makes this volume far more valuable than the usual collection of essays.

In his study of the existentialists, Collins considers their attitude toward religion and their positions concerning modern science. In Marcel he sees a man who was philosophizing as a Christian thinker when others were arguing about the possibility of Christian philosophy. In Edith Stein he finds a balanced approach to metaphysics not found in other attempts to reconstitute metaphysics on a phenomenological basis. Maintaining a balanced position, she does not set down a doctrinaire opposition between material things and human experience. She requires only that metaphysics account for the human aspects of experience without concluding that act and potency, substance and causality, have no place in a metaphysics of human meaning. In another effort at phenomenological reconstruction, Max Scheler transformed the analysis of moral attitudes into a metaphysics of God and man. As a result he burdened phenomenological reduction with metaphysical functions it is not designed to perform.

By-passing the analytic school, Collins considers its roots in naturalism. In John Dewey's naturalism, he distinguishes between the realistic element that Dewey shares with realists over against idealists, and his exclusion of God from the scope of human knowledge. And he judges that this element in Dewey's thought can be traced to his Hegelian heritage with its postulate of a single basic method of knowing and defining reality. Collins concludes this study of these two paths in philosophy with the judgment that: "Any constructive work done by realistic theism in the coming years on the meaning of man will have to rest upon a close understanding and patient evaluation of both the existentialist and the naturalist aspects of our integral reality" (p. 251). This work he has begun in this volume and gives a model for a positive yet critical approach to philosophy.

In his study of theistic realism, Collins is chiefly concerned with the method and order that is proper to philosophy because certain approaches to Christian philosophy fail to respect the intrinsic requirements of philosophy itself and also fail to take into account the problems, methods, and evidences of contemporary philosophy. Over against these notions of Christian philosophy, Collins judges that theistic philosophy must have a profound grasp of its own nature as a philosophy that is respon-

sible for developing itself according to the order and context of human evidence.

Throughout this technical discussion Collins remains aware of the practical question of the teaching of philosophy in Catholic colleges. This involves the question as to the proper way of becoming truly contemporary in matters philosophical. One way is to get on the bandwagon of some currently popular philosophical movement. This assures quick and ready acceptance but neither understanding nor respect. Frequently, this lack of balance is caused by trying to match junior-year Thomism with post-graduate analytic philosophy or phenomenology. But this approach falls short of the right and the obligation of the philosopher to critical assimilation and evaluation of doctrines. In the recent past, criticism was too glib and too negative. Now it seems the pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme so that the critical powers of many Catholic philosophers seem to be paralyzed. Though sympathetic understanding is the first step in philosophy, to stop there is to become a connoisseur of new modes of thought. Finally, a philosopher must direct his whole study to a philosophical judgement on the truth of the matter.

I recommend this thoroughly competent volume to philosophers and all involved in the work of the colleges. To philosophers for its challenging probing of the meaning of contemporary philosophy and the problem of achieving a Christian philosophy that is both Christian and philosophical. To those interested in the colleges for it's intelligent discussion of the very real problems related to teaching theistic realism in a way that is truly contemporary, since it is just as easy to lose one's philosophical identity and responsibility by uncritically accepting a twentieth century view as by blindly holding on to a thirteenth century position.

WALTER E. STOKES, S.J.

That The World May Believe. *By Hans Küng.* Translated by Cecily Hastings. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963. Pp. 150. $3.00.

Nearly everyone these days is anxious to read something by Hans Küng, the talented young Swiss theologian who has recently risen to worldwide renown. The present book will surprise many readers by its modesty and directness. Küng the theologian and reformer steps into the background (without ever really disappearing); it is primarily the pastor who writes. Using the literary form of ten letters to a university student, the author takes up questions of the kind most troublesome to educated laymen in our time. For instance: how favorably can we judge the Christianity of Protestants? Why can't the churches put an end to their squabbles? Must we Catholics always defend our Church? What about the condemnation of Galileo? Can we swallow the creation account in Genesis? Is it necessary to become a Catholic to save one's soul? Why is the Mass so strange and complicated? Should we try to suppress doubts about faith when they spring up in our minds? Should we confess them as sins?

These and like questions are handled with the aplomb of a trained theologian who knows how to speak the language that young men today will understand. Father Küng is perfectly candid; he never sweeps ugly facts under the carpet or seeks to evade the real issue. He is liberal in admitting defects in the Catholic community and virtues in persons outside her fold. He castigates the superstitions and intolerance of many priests and faithful. Advanced as some of Küng's positions may seem, I do not think he is ever temerarious, even in his handling of such delicate points as "extra Ecclesiam nulla salus." At worst he can be accused of oversimplifying. By and large, his views are not untypical of the younger generation in continental Catholic thinking.

These wide-ranging essays will hold no revelations for professional theologians or students who have kept abreast of new tendencies. But many Catholic laymen, especially readers of college age, will find this book palatable and enlightening. Without trying to set forth a full apologetic of the faith, Küng deals skillfully with a number of sensitive points, and his observations will serve to allay many unnecessary worries and resentments among both Catholics and Protestants. The style is as straightforward as the thought-content. Cecily Hastings, whose translation of Küng's previous work was so well received, has scored another triumph.

If there is one defect to be noted, it is perhaps the author's tendency to overpaint the dark side of the picture. On page 111, for example, we are told: "It has been estimated that with very few exceptions there is no major town in the western world (including North and South America) in which more than 30% of the Catholics are practising." So far as England and the United States are concerned, the statistics given by Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J. in his *Northern Parish* are far more encouraging.

AVERY DULLES, S.J.

Toward a Theology of the Layman. *By John D. Gerken, S.J.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1963, Pp. 152. $3.95.

A stimulating book on a topic that needs no apology, *Toward a Theology of the Layman* deserves much more discussion and reflection than this review allows.

In the Introduction Fr. Gerken stresses that he is not presenting a definitive doctrine, but contributing to the current discussion. The book claims to be only "a step toward what will one day be a complete theology of the layman" (p. 3). Thus the publishers' implication on the book's jacket that it is to be lauded for resolving major issues is unfortunate. The author makes no such claim. It is with this realization that the book must be read and discussed.

Part One deals with the question of the better state of life. Theories of Congar, Philips, and Thalhammer are found wanting as explanations of the teaching that the religious state is a better state, for they imply that the lay state involves an inferior living of the Christian life. The scriptural passages usually cited in this conext (Mt. 19:16-22 and 1 Cor.

7:25-40) are discussed, and the conclusion is that these passages do not prove that the life of virginity (synonymous with the religious life) is a better way to love God. A treatment of recent writings of Fr. Karl Rahner leads to a general acceptance of Rahner's views with the admission that he fails to explain adequately the betterness of the religious life, a fact taught by Trent and *Sacra Virginitas* of Pius XII but explained by neither. Fr. Gerken's own suggested solution lies in the ability of the life of virginity "to manifest the supernatural characteristics of Christian love." (p. 91)

Part Two of the book deals with the question of determining one's obligation to follow a vocation to a state of life. The doctrine presented is that of Fr. Rahner, employing as a norm the "consolation without any previous cause" of St. Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits. It is held that this consolation, in Rahnerian terms a "thematic consciousness of the experience of transcendence," indicates a true obligation to answer a call to a state of life.

The book is a brave book and is extremely worth-while. Many will reject the scriptural interpretation used and thus be distracted from the main theme of the book. A fuller explanation of some key Rahnerian terms should have been included to avoid misunderstanding by a non-Rahnerian audience. But with the purpose of the book in mind, such flaws should not be exaggerated.

Jesuits should be especially happy with two by-products: an insight into the often neglected sign aspect of religious life, and a vital interpretation of St. Ignatius' Rules for the Discernment of Spirits seen as a thread through the whole Spiritual Exercises.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

The Challenge of Mater et Magistra. *Edited by Joseph N. Moody and Justus George Lawler.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1963, Pp. 280.

In this heartening volume, *The Challenge of Mater et Magistra*, the reader will find several essays which provide insight into the tension and struggle of the social question, their authors' respective reactions to the encyclical, and the practical recommendations which Pope John XXIII makes.

Editor Lawler's introductory lament over modern apathy in the age of Overkill points out that *Mater et Magistra* is the first encyclical to regard the world no longer as a heterogeneous assemblage of separate and self-sufficient nations, but as a single entity moving more and more, save for one great obstacle, towards a deeper sense of cooperation and community. The first two essays, *The Church and the Social Question*, by Franz H. Mueller, and *The World-Wide Response*, by Donald R. Campion, S.J., offer the student 496 documentary references for further scientific study.

Dr. Mueller's essay tracing the social question as it evolves from medieval to modern times should be required reading for every seminarian. Father Campion's monumental periodical analysis of reactions to

the encyclical clearly demonstrates the left and right of insight and the problem of truth. The themes of the essay are unfolded in Joseph Moody's reaffirmation of *Mater et Magistra*'s international perspective, in Thomas K. Burch's search for a demographic perspective and in Edward O'Rourke's classification of the encyclical as the agricultural encyclical. John C. Cort offers a problematic insight into profit sharing—the section outside of "socialization" which has caused the most interest. This American response to *Mater et Magistra* is urgently welcome.

FRANCIS X. QUINN, S.J.

Life and Holiness. *By Thomas Merton.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. 162. $3.50.

In the preface to his newest book, Thomas Merton writes that "this is intended to be a very simple book, an elementary treatment of a few basic ideas in Christian spirituality. Hence it should be useful to any Christian, and indeed to anyone who wants to acquaint himself with some principles of the interior life as it is understood in the Catholic Church." I believe that Merton has achieved his modest objective and then some. In a style that is beautifully direct and unpretentious, he has created a masterpiece of spiritual reading.

Conceived, I suspect, from his meditations on *Mater et Magistra*, the book's main issue is that no Christian today can fully live the life of the commandments, much less strive for high perfection through observing the counsels, unless he makes a real, personal contribution to the settlement of the practical social problems of our time. Merton surely realizes that this is a hard saying and would scarcely be understood by his readers if he were to place it at the beginning of his book. He climactically prepares for it by short conferences, of four or five pages each, on the meaning and implications of the Christian life.

Beginning with the call to perfection that comes with Baptism, Father Merton goes on to dispel common erroneous concepts that would base holiness on an absorption in the externals of law and respectability, or on escape into the world of the ideal—the world of the plastic saint, or on preoccupation with method, or on a restricted sense of what it means to be truly human.

Relying continually on Scripture and the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, Merton corrects and adjusts these impressions so as to root the Christian life in intimacy with God in Christ. He gives special stress to faith, obedience to the will of the Father, grace and the sacraments, and to the social perspectives of charity.

Though primarily intended for the serious-minded layman, this book may be read with profit by priests and religious.

WILLIAM J. BERGEN, S.J.

The Modern Theology of Tradition. *By James Patrick Mackey.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. xi-219. $4.75.

Father Mackey, a young Irish priest, undertakes to examine theological speculation concerning the nature of Tradition from the time of

Cardinal Franzelin. Focusing mainly on the active aspect of Tradition, i.e., on the bearers of the deposit of Revelation, the author begins with Cardinal Franzelin since it was he who set the structure of modern theological opinion (in the author's view) on the question, particularly by relating "the concept of Tradition so closely to the infallible teaching of the Magisterium as to derive his definition of Tradition from that relationship."

In the course of his first chapter, which concerns the spectrum of the Tradition-magisterium line of thought, Father Mackey also relates to Tradition the allied subjects of the rule of faith and the development of doctrine. Father Mackey finds this school of thought deficient in providing a thoroughly realistic view of Tradition by failing to do justice to the activity of other members of the Church apart from the Magisterium in transmitting tradition. The two subsequent chapters therefore are concerned with vindicating for the Fathers and Theologians and the faithful a proper role as bearers of tradition. The fourth chapter surveys proposed definitions of Tradition which will do justice principally to the fact that all the members of the Church take part in Tradition and finds Scheeben's view of the matter the most satisfactory. This view expresses the vitality, complexity and unity of Tradition in terms of the two themes of an organic Church and a perennial Magisterium. The fifth chapter views Tradition in its relation to Scripture, and the final chapter treats Tradition in non-Catholic theology.

The author's close reasoning and spare expression do not permit more than this sketchy indication of the contents of his book. His work requires and repays careful attention. While by design not speculative but positive in nature, the book is no mere catalogue of discrete opinions. Rather it is an intelligently developed and articulated synthesis of positions. The author has made a noteworthy and illuminating contribution to a question of central theological and ecumenical import. The publishers, too, are to be commended for continuing to make available Catholic theological literature of high merit.

MARTIN J. FOLEY, S.J.

Religious Liberty and the American Presidency. *By Patricia Barrett.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. ix-166. $4.50.

The religious issue in the 1960 presidential campaign resurrected many forgotten ghosts from their resting places in the pages of history. Doctor Barrett's penetrating and serenely objective analysis of this resurrection is certainly a major contribution to the study of this embarrassing aspect of American pluralism. The author's observations fill only sixty pages of the book; the rest is given over to relevant documents and bibliographical data. The only flaw in the essay is that it is too short. What was said in the sixty double-spaced pages was said so well that the reader cannot escape the feeling that he has not reaped the full measure of Doctor Barrett's exhaustive research.

Avoiding the labyrinth of detail involved in isolating the Catholic vote, the author focuses on the more fundamental question of the nature

of anti-Catholic feeling which found expression in the campaign. Her first chapter traces the growth of the issue from the celebrated article in *Look* (March 3, 1959) up until the election itself. She then presents the substantive issues of the campaign—union of Church and State, dual allegiance, the Catholic School system, *etc.* The final chapter is a three page suggestion on how American democracy can profit from the 1960 experience. The author counsels dialogue on the personal level, open debate of social and political questions, and the forming of public policy in the give-and-take of the power struggle properly assigned to the legislative forum.

The documentary section of the book will be of great value to students of the church-state question. The sources are from the files of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. Also included are major policy statements of interested groups and the text of Mr. Kennedy's Houston address.

JOHN A. ROHR, S.J.

Understanding Biblical Research. *By Luis Alonso Schökel, S.J.* Translated by Peter J. McCord, S.J., with a Foreword by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. xii-130. $3.50.

Those who have felt that Catholic Bible scholars have recently been moving too far too fast without taking enough account of their obligations to a general public brought up in the older tradition will find in Father Alonso Schökel's little book just what they are looking for. In three lectures he sketches for the educated layman or priest the interplay of historical forces which brought on, at the same time as they delayed, the advances Catholic Scripture studies have seen in the last two decades, thus giving the false appearance of a sudden revolution.

No one can help being fascinated by his lively history of exegesis in the Christian community; in his account of the last four hundred years he takes care to insert the course of Bible studies into the overall intellectual and religious history of the period. It is a story of opportunities lost to the Church at the beginning of the modern era, of centuries of Protestant scholarship which was vigorous but at the mercy of contemporary intellectual vagaries, of typically "post-Tridentine" Catholic reaction, and of a new period of peaceful stabilization introduced by twentieth-century advances in philology and archeology. Today, exegesis has a far firmer scientific foundation than ever before, and is becoming less and less a field for philosophical and theological disputes.

This method of presenting the modern state of exegesis has the advantage of casting much light on the (to many Catholics mystifying) outburst of ecumenism in our times. Things are moving fast everywhere in the Church, but behind them are forces that have been building up for centuries. Historical understanding is the indispensable key to an intelligent response to these forces. Father Alonso Schökel's book provides such a key.

The book is excellently translated, and a Foreword by the professor of New Testament at Woodstock College gives its immediate background and introduces it to English-speaking readers.

MARTIN PALMER, S.J.

Unity: Man's Tomorrow. *By Roger Schutz.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1963. Pp. 94. $2.95.

If one were to approach this book expecting to find a theological study of ecumenism, he would be disappointed. Although the author is the Prior of Taizé, the famed Protestant religious community and ecumenical center, the problem of Christian unity is, in a way, tangential to the central theme of this book. The author is principally concerned with the challenge of the new unbelieving world which is coming to be, and the response of the Christian conscience to this world. It is in relation to this more ultimate question that the unity of Christianity is treated in this collection of short meditations. The first part of the book discusses the nature of the new civilization and its two characteristics, technology and "the crowd." There follows a description of the state of Christianity in the world today, with particular emphasis given to the problems of the churches in South America. The concluding section gives some basic principles of ecumenical spirituality.

The author does not reveal his own conception of Christian unity, except for his insistence that this unity must be visible and not merely spiritual. Nor does he outline the steps by which unity might be obtained. However, he does urge us to follow that vocation to holiness and that renunciation of sectarian spirit without which the reunion of the Christian churches is impossible. No doubt, he thus expresses the spirit of his community, which seeks to further unity through interior renovation rather than through ecclesiastical maneuvering.

The translation is at times cumbersome and even unintelligible, and the book is not free of typographical errors.

SCHUYLER BROWN, S.J.

Preaching. *Edited by Ronan Drury.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 149. $3.50.

This book is a collection of nine essays primarily directed towards integrating the work of the preacher into the life of the Church; several of the essays give practical suggestions for the preacher. The authors all live and write in Ireland giving the collection a slightly different tone and approach than similar American works.

The first article treats the theology of preaching. Beginning with a consideration of language as the means by which God initially revealed Himself to man, it sees the saving word entrusted to the Church by whom it is to be rendered actual through the work of the preacher. Out of this fundamental role of preaching in the life of the Church, the author formulates its theology. Preaching is called a direct cause of grace, the grace it gives is the grace of faith, the grace presumed by the

sacraments. The article ends with a bibliography of recent writing on the theology of preaching. Two of the other essays relate preaching to the liturgy; they quote papal statements establishing the connection and trace the relationship in the history of the early Church. Another essay relates preaching to the scriptures while another traces the history of mission preaching in the life of the Church. Practical essays are on dogmatic instruction, the moral sermon, preaching to adolescents and delivery. All of the essays are competent and interesting, particularly those which show the preacher how his work lies at the heart of the Church's mission.

THOMAS KING, S.J.

The Works of Bonaventure, Vol. II, *The Breviloquium.* Translated by Jose de Vinck. Patterson: Saint Anthony Guild Press, distributed by Desclee Co., New York, 1963. Pp. xviii-326. $6.75 Illustrated.

The Breviloquium is a compendium of Saint Bonaventure's theological teaching in seven parts. The translator adds a rather detailed synopsis of the seven parts, since the work lacks the schema (and tedium) of a summa.

Although Bonaventure's thought encompassed heaven and earth, he could still become personally involved in it. Speaking of the Incarnation with one eye on the Sermons of Augustine he says: "Virginal was her conceiving of the Son of God, virginal her birth-giving, and virginal her state after deliverance. She conceived not only a body, but a body with a soul, a body united to the Word and free from the stain of sin, a body all-holy and immaculate. That is why she is called the Mother of God, and is yet also the most sweet Virgin Mary." His translator says of him; " . . . the particular glory of Bonaventure is to have reconciled the vision of the mystic with the logic of the theologian, and to have shown that, in matters theological, reason supplemented by infused mystical knowledge is superior to reason alone." We quite agree.

The book is well made and the format excellent.

If you are looking for a machine to think with, you can do no better than the Breviloquium of the Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor and Saint.

GEORGE J. SCHEMEL, S.J.

Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. *By Louis J. Gallagher, S.J.* New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1962. Pp. 250. $4.95.

Father Edmund Walsh, S.J. will be remembered as one of the outstanding pioneers of the American Assistancy in the twentieth century. The first full length account of his life is presented by his friend and long-time associate, Father Louis Gallagher. The author has given greatest attention to Father Walsh's efforts as director of the Papal Relief Mission to Russia, 1922-1923; his work at the Nuremberg Trials, 1945-1946; and his founding and direction of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University from 1919 to his death in 1956.

Also treated are Father Walsh's diplomatic work for the Vatican in Mexico in 1929, his helping to establish Baghdad College in 1931, his

relations with Franklin Roosevelt concerning America's recognition of Russia in 1933, his work with the Catholic Near East Welfare Association over many years and with the Finnish Relief Fund in 1940, his visit to Japan in 1946 and his extensive lecturing and writing.

While Father Gallagher presents much valuable information on his subject, the treatment is too external. Father Walsh never quite comes alive in the pages of this biography. And there is much more detail which remains yet to be recorded. This work, then, is a beginning in what we hope will be a growing body of knowledge on a truly impressive Jesuit.

HENRY C. BISCHOFF, S.J.

Roger Joseph Boscovich. *Edited by Lancelot Law Whyte.* London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1961. Pp. 230.

The twentieth century has paid scant attention to Roger Joseph Boscovich (1711-1787), Dalmatian born priest of the Society of Jesus and Fellow of the British Royal Society. Among Jesuits he is vaguely remembered as an adversary "refuted" in a cosmology course; among scientists he is dismissed as an eighteenth century atomist. The present collection of essays then marks a welcome change of attitude towards a man who was a leading mathematician, physicist, diplomat, latinist, and social figure of his era, possessed of a striking combination of soaring imagination and strict logic, devoted to simplicity in scientific hypothesis and care for deductive clarity. A bicentenary celebration in 1958 of his most famous work, *Theoria Philosophiae Naturalis*, was sponsored by the Yugoslav government, and moved English speaking scientists and historians to prepare these papers to mark the 250th anniversary of his birth. They restore the reputation of a genius whose influence can be seen in Priestley, Faraday, Kelvin, J. J. Thomson, Laplace, Cauchy, and H. A. Lorentz, and whose insights into physical and statistical theory are still suggestive.

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